

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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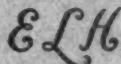
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# Modern Language Notes

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## VINLAND AND ULTIMA THULE

*Longinquis mortuisque*

Vinland studies that are concerned with details can make but little use of sources which do not afford any. We have already had occasion, however, to point out that there are other problems besides the details of the Vinland journeys and that in order to solve these a different kind of evidence is required.<sup>1</sup> The main sources of the Vinland voyages, the two well-known "Vinland sagas," have the advantage of giving many details (this advantage, to be sure, is a disadvantage too, as these details can be interpreted in very different ways), but it must not be forgotten that the time when they were written down is separated from the events they relate by more than two centuries and a half, i. e. by eight or ten generations. Other sources, not so precise and not so rich in details, but nearer to the events themselves, could prove very precious in verifying and corroborating the evidence gained from analysing the sagas.

Fortunately we have an early source of Vinland tradition—not contemporary, indeed, but still belonging to the same century as the voyages and separated from them only by one generation. The source is a mention made by Adam of Bremen, in the part called "Descriptio Insularum Aquilonis" of his work *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*.<sup>2</sup> As this passage, though often spoken of, is but rarely analysed, we had better examine it more closely. It runs as follows:

Praeterea unam adhuc insulam recitavit a multis in eo repertam oceanum, quae dicitur Winland, eo quid ibi vites sponte nascantur, vinum optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges ibi non seminatas habundare, non fabulosa opinione,

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<sup>1</sup> "New Ways to Vinland Problems" *Acta Ethnologica* 1938, 17 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. SS.* 7, Hannoverae 1846, 267 ff.

sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum. Post quam insulam, ait, terra non invenitur habitabilis in illo oceano, sed omnia quae ultra sunt glacie intolerabili ac caligine immensa plena sunt. Cujus rei Martianus ita meminit: Ultra Thilen, inquiens, navigatione unius diei mare concretum est. Temptavit hoc nuper experientissimus Nordmannorum princeps Haraldus. Qui latitudinem septentrionalis oceanii perscrutatus navibus, tantem caligantibus ante ora deficiendis mundi finibus, inmane abyssi baratrum retroactis vestigiis vix salvus evasit.

This passage was written between the years 1072 and 1076 or not much later, as the work is dedicated to Bishop Liemar, who was consecrated in 1072, and as it speaks of King Svein of Denmark, who died in 1076, as being still alive. Philipp Wilhelm Kohlmann,<sup>3</sup> who calls our attention to these facts, thinks that only the first two books can be dated in this way. But Adam in the Epilogue speaks of the whole writing as a work of his youth, so that our passage, which is chapter 38 of book iv. (chapter 247 of the whole work), also cannot be much later than the first two books. The person whom the author cites as his source of information is King Svein.

The variants presented in the different manuscripts are not very important. In the first sentence, MS 1, a Vienna codex of the 13th century, reads *regionem* instead of *insulam*; MS 2a (written in the 16th or 17th century; No. 1175 of the Copenhagen Royal Library) explains the word *Winland* by adding *id est terra vini*. Somewhat more remarkable is that MS 1 omits the whole second part of the passage, beginning with *Post quam insulam, ait. . .*. On the other hand, the 16th century Hamburg MS 7 adds the following sentences: *Istud etiam dixit quidam nobilis Carthusiensis praesentium scriptura et est verum. Sed iste locus in eorum idiomate Gim mendegop. Miles vero capitaneus regis dicebatur Olyden Helgeson, nauta vero Gunnar Caswen.*—This same late manuscript omits in the first sentence the words *a multis*.

There are two points in this brief account that seem to be in contradiction with our later and more copious sources in the *Vinland sagas*. The first is the statement that the island was discovered "by many"; the second is the emphasis on the proximity of ice and darkness, in spite of a contradictory detail: the whirlpool discovered by the expedition of Harald and identified in the

<sup>3</sup> "Adam von Bremen," *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen* 10, Leipzig 1908, 1 ff.

later manuscript with the Eddic *Ginnungagap* is far from being *concretum*. As to the first point, the Vinland sagas know but two or five voyages. As to the second, the fertility of the country, reflected in its name and described by the sagas, does not agree with neighbourhood to an arctic climate. The first contradiction, however, though it has often been used to make the whole of Adam's description dubious,<sup>4</sup> is imaginary. Of course, the number of voyages, if we believe our sagas (and we have no reason not to do so), was but two according to the one saga and five according to the other. Sagas group their events around the persons of their protagonists and efface the personalities of the background, so that after reading the saga texts we really have the impression that only two or three persons, Leif, Thorfinn Karlsefni and perhaps Bjarni Herjólfsson are the discoverers of Vinland. That means that from this point of view Vinland was indeed not discovered *a multis*. But it is not to be forgotten that the sagas *do* speak of the crew that followed these leaders, that besides giving the names of some of their mates they give the exact number of members of each expedition. Chapter 8 of the *Eiríkssaga rauða*<sup>5</sup> states that the crew of Thorfinn consisted of *fjórir tigir manna ok hundrað*—this number probably means 140 and not 160 (ON. *hundrað* can signify 100 as well as 120); to prove this statement would lead us too far afield and it is of absolutely no importance for our present purposes. According to chapter 3 of the *Grænlendingaþátr*,<sup>6</sup> Leif's crew consisted of 35 men, that of Thorvald of 30 (chapter 5), that of Thorfinn Karlsefni of 60 men and five women (chapter 7). Chapter 8 relates that Freydis made an agreement with the brothers Helgi and Finnbogi that their respective crews consist of 30 men each, but that she fraudulently took five more with her. We will not insist on the question of which saga we are to believe, as we at any rate may be sure that there were more than one hundred, if not several hundreds, who reached and saw the coasts of the New Continent. And each of these men, whether mentioned by name in the sagas or not, considered himself legitimately as a discoverer

<sup>4</sup> Fridtjof Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, 1, London 1911, 382.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. by Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthias Thórdarson, *Eyrbyggja Saga . . . Íslensk Fornrit* iv., Reykjavík 1935, 193 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. under the title of *Grænlendinga Saga* by Sveinsson and Thórdarson, *op. cit.*, 239 ff.

of the new country, the descendants of each one were legitimately proud of their far-traveled forefathers. King Svein and his authorities had had the opportunity to know of many people, by hearsay at least, who were reckoned discoverers, or descendants of discoverers, of Vinland. They could not help having the impression that Vinland really had been discovered *a multis*, and when Adam repeats this statement, he is by no means in contradiction with the sagas.

The second point, the situation of Vinland near the arctic region, is worth examining more closely, as it throws light upon Adam's idea of the country he is describing. Adam himself makes our task easy with a sentence that seems to have escaped his pen, a sentence which overthrows the coherence of his narrative but which for that very reason is instructive, showing the *attitude* of the writer towards his subject. He says that beyond Vinland there is but ice and fog, and he adds: *Cujus rei Martianus ita meminit: Ultra Thilen, inquiens, navigatione unius diei mare concretum est.* The passage of *Martianus Capella*<sup>7</sup> that Adam is referring to runs in reality thus:

Sed ultima omnium [insularum] Tyle, in qua solstitiali tempore continuus dies, brumalique nox perennis exigitur. Ultra quam navigatione unius diei mare concretum est.

This is a commonplace of ancient and mediaeval geographical literature, but it is curious that Adam quotes it here, when speaking about Vinland, and not where it would be in place, in his chapter on Thule. To find out the reason why he does this, we should see what Adam says about Thule itself. He discusses Thule in chapter 244 (or iv. 35), where he says:

Insula Thyle, quae per infinitum a ceteris secreta, longe in medio sita est oceano, vix, inquiunt, nota habetur. De qua tam a romanis scriptoribus, quam a barbaris multa referentur digna praedicari. Ultima, inquiunt, omnium Thyle, in qua aestivo solsticio, sole cancri signum transeunte, nox nulla, brumalis solsticio perinde nullus dies. Hoc quidam senis mensibus fieri arbitrantur. Item Beda scribit, in Britannia aestate lucidas noctes haut dubie repromittere, ut in solsticio continui dies habetur senis mensibus, noctesque e diverso ad brumam sole remoto. Quod fieri in insula Thyle Pytheas Massiliensis scribit sex dierum navigatione a Britannia distante. Haec itaque Thyle nunc Island appellatur, a glacie quae oce-

<sup>7</sup> *De nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii* vi. 666.

num adstringit. De qua etiam hoc memorabile ferunt, quod eadem glacies ita nigra et arida videatur propter antiquitatem, ut incensa ardeat. Est autem insula permaxima, ita ut populos infra se multos contineat, qui solo pecorum fetu vivunt eorumque vellere teguntur: nullae ibi fruges, minima lignorum copia, propterea in subterraneis habitant speluncis, communis tecto et strato gaudentes cum pecoribus suis. . . . Haec de Islanis et de ultima Thyle veraciter comperi, fabulosa praeteriens.

The first part of this narrative, with the exception of one sentence, is compiled from earlier authors. The passage *Insula Thyle . . . nota habetur* is borrowed from Orosius;<sup>8</sup> *Ultima inquit . . . fieri arbitrantur* is taken from Beda,<sup>9</sup> who himself borrowed the first part of his sentence, up to the words . . . *nullus dies*, from Solinus.<sup>10</sup> Finally—and here Adam himself gives his source—another passage of the same chapter of Beda is used. The second part of the narrative is a fairly exact picture of Iceland as known in the rest of Europe in the 11th century; the legend of the burning ice, too, could not be felt as very unlike reality. The identification of Iceland with the Thule of the Greek and Roman authors is due to Dicuil,<sup>11</sup> who made the equation as early as in 825,<sup>12</sup> before the colonizing of Iceland by the Norse, while it was still only the abode of some Irish hermits. This identification became common during the Middle Ages (only a few authors, as Giraldus Cambrensis,<sup>13</sup> make a distinction between *Yslandia* and *Tyle*), so that Adam's description of Iceland does not contain anything which would be peculiar to him. Only one sentence, intercalated between the quotations from Orosius and Beda has a special interest for us. Here he says: *De qua tam a romanis scriptoribus, quam a barbaris multa referentur digna praedicari*. This sentence is the more remarkable as it is in open contradiction with the preceding one (this borrowed from Orosius), where we are told that on Thule *vix nota habetur*. On the other hand, this passage is in curious agreement with one of Pomponius Mela (it is rather improbable that Adam had read it<sup>14</sup>): *Thyle Belcarum littora adposita est*,

<sup>8</sup> I. 2. 28.

<sup>9</sup> *De temporum ratione* 31.

<sup>10</sup> *Polyhist.* 22. Ed. by Mommsen, Berolini 1895.

<sup>11</sup> *Liber de mensura orbis terrae* VII. 2. 2 ff.

<sup>12</sup> See chapter IX. 5 of his work.

<sup>13</sup> *Topographia Hibernica* II. 13, 14, 17.

<sup>14</sup> Kohlmann's enumeration (*op. cit.* 57) of the influences Adam possibly underwent does not show any trace of Adam's knowing Pomponius Mela.

*Grais et nostri celebrata carminibus. . . .*<sup>15</sup> It is obvious that Pomponius is exaggerating; Greek poetry did not deal much with Thule, though we know that at least one Greek novel was written about it, the book of Antonius Diogenes on the *Twenty-Four Miracles Beyond Thule*: *Τών ὑπὲρ Θούλην ἀπιστών λόγοι κδ'*,<sup>16</sup> but it is characteristic that the "proverbial use"<sup>17</sup> of the name *Ultima Thule* aroused such a kind of *paramnesis*. Indeed, the word Thule with its constant epithet *ultima* was always felt as something emphatic, something provided with some significance apt to create the atmosphere of the feeling of mystery and *deeper* reality, of myth or of poetry. This it was that forced Adam, even at the risk of contradiction with his preceding statement, to evoke Thule as an object of literature, even of non-Latin literature—an allusion which is rather rare in his times. He cannot help doing so, as even the sober Giraldus, when speaking on Tyle, cannot help quoting, quite without connection with the rest of his relation: *Virgilius Augusto, "Tibi serviat ultima Tyle."*<sup>18</sup>

We do not know whether there really existed passages of *barbares scriptores* known by Adam and dealing with Thule, or Iceland (Adam shows no trace of acquaintance, direct or indirect, with Norse poetry); probably not. Adam probably was the victim of the same exaggeration of memory which we find before him with Pomponius, and he had still more reason for it, as in the Middle Ages fancy took still stronger hold of the deeply significant notion of *Ultima Thule*. The work of mediaeval fancy attributed such traits to the geographical notion of Thule (itself inherited from antiquity) as to bring this notion closer to Vinland as Adam knew it. Therefore an examination of the mediaeval Thule notion will help us not only to understand why Adam interpolated a quotation on Thule into his description of Vinland, but also how he conceived the remote regions he is dealing with. And this can help us perhaps to take a look even behind Adam, on the nature of the tradition he heard and reported.

The deep significance of the word *Ultima Thule*, felt already by ancient authors (remember the solemn use in the well-known

<sup>15</sup> *Chorogr.* III. 6.

<sup>16</sup> Rohde, *Der griechische Roman* 250.

<sup>17</sup> G. Macdonald in Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Thule."

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 17. No doubt he follows the Geog. of Ravenna v. 33 and with him Jordanes I.

prophecy of Seneca's *Medea*<sup>19</sup>) was felt by the Middle Ages too; Adam and Giraldus are our witnesses. And as mediaeval geography had Solinus as its chief classical source, it is he who in the greatest measure is responsible for the later evolution of the notion *Ultima Thule*. Its later fate is closely connected with him, in two ways. In the Middle Ages he was both interpolated and misunderstood. Let us see how. As an example we might take a historiographer of the 15th century, who, at the very end of the Middle Ages, tries, it would seem, to sum up the conceptions of this period. It is Hartmann Schedel<sup>20</sup> whom we quote:

Thanatos insula occaeani freto Gallico a Britannia est vario termino separata. Tiloe ultima insula occaeani. Tilos Indie insula est secundum Solinum. Hec fert palmas, oleum et vineas. Hec omnes terras hoc solo miraculo vincit quod quecumque arbor in ea est nunquam caret folio: ibi mons Caucasus . . . Orchades insule . . .

Schedel speaks of a marvelously fertile island Tiloe or Tilos, the *last* in the ocean, situated in India, near the Caucasus (the two determinations are rather contradictory but show that the island was thought of at any rate as belonging to Asia)—but its description is placed between that of the “island” Thanatos (the peninsula of Thanet) and that of the Orcades; and it is given the epithet *ultima* which is the constant and proper attribute of the Atlantic Thule. This shows that the notion of the fertile island was in some way connected with the North Atlantic. This connection with the North Atlantic could have been made easy by the name of Thule or Thyle; the description itself, on the other hand, is borrowed from Solinus,<sup>21</sup> who writes in almost the same words that Schedel uses:

Tylos Indiae insula est; ea fert palmas, oleam creat, vinis abundat. Terras omnes hoc miraculo sola vincit, quod quaecumque in ea arbor nascitur, nunquam caret folio. Ibi mons Caucasus . . .

Mediaeval literature as a whole got its knowledge of Thule chiefly from Solinus:<sup>22</sup>

Multae et aliae circa Britanniam insulae, e quibus Thyle ultima, in qua aestivo solsticio sole de cancri sidere faciente transitum nox nulla: bru-

<sup>19</sup> II. 379.

<sup>20</sup> *Chronicorum liber*, Nuremberg 1493, fol. xix.

<sup>21</sup> *Polyhist.* 52.

<sup>22</sup> *Polyhist.* 22.

mali solsticio perinde nullus dies. Ultra Thylen accipimus pigrum et concretum mare.

So it could not help confusing the two almost homonymous islands, as Hartmann Schedel did still. Of course, the mere resemblance of names is not enough to make us understand how a tropical and an arctic island could be confused, the tropical nature of the one and the arctic nature of the other being explicitly stated by Solinus. Notwithstanding, Giraldus Cambrensis is the only one who protests against this confusion, and sums up: *Sed aequivocatio non te decipiat . . . Illa enim Tylis, haec Tyle vocatur.*<sup>23</sup> There must have been a reason why other writers could not understand what was seen so clearly by Giraldus. To be sure, there was a misunderstanding, but there must have been reasons for this. It is clearly stated that Thule is an arctic island, and when we look for the facts that made it possible to confuse with this arctic island an extremely fertile one, we find if not the cause of the confusion, at least a very significative symptom of the proceeding in the mediaeval manuscripts of the work of Solinus itself. Most of the mediaeval manuscripts have interpolated, between the words *nullus dies . . .* and . . . *Ultra Thylen* of the quoted passage of chapter 22, the following sentences:

A Calidoniae promunturio Tylen potentibus bidui navigatio est . . . Ab Orchadibus Tylen usque quinque dierum ac noctium navigatio est. Sed Tyle larga et diutina Pomona copiosa est. Qui illic habitant principio veris inter pecudes pabulis vivunt, dein lacte, in hiemem conpercunt arborum fructus. Utuntur feminis vulgo: certum matrimonium nulli.<sup>24</sup>

The interpolation was probably made in Ireland, at the end of the 6th century.<sup>25</sup> In it we have not only a clear statement that the island of Thule was reckoned fertile and arctic at the same time, but we see this belief in some way consecrated and corroborated for eternity by its being attributed to the great authority of Solinus. This is more than a mere confusion of names: this

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.* II. 17. The confusion is found as early as the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius of Autun I. 31, where we are told that Thile is the farthest island in the North, an island where the trees are ever green and where there is perpetual day in summer, perpetual night in winter.

<sup>24</sup> Mommsen, *C. Iulii Solini collectanea*, Berolini 1895, 219.

<sup>25</sup> Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. lxxxix ff.; Heinrich Zimmer, "Über die frühesten Beziehungen der Iren mit den Nordgermanen," *SB Berlin* 1891/1, 286.

shows that there was no doubt of the possibility of such a phenomenon.

To be sure, there exists an attempt at a different interpretation of this passage of pseudo-Solinus. Zimmer,<sup>26</sup> who thinks that the ancient and early-mediaeval Thule is identical with the Shetlands, gives a quite rational explanation of the passage: the islanders live during the summer on animal products, during the winter on fruits. It is, however, difficult to understand why this people should have adopted a way of life quite contrary to every other pastoral civilization. It is also difficult not to translate the passage as referring to ever-fruitful apple-trees (and perhaps—the first interpretation allowing it—also to fruits gathered in the winter). It would be difficult, too, to understand why other works of mediaeval literature insist on the paradisiac character of the island, if rationalist explanations would be satisfactory in this area.

We might quote, besides, a poem of the 13th century,<sup>27</sup> It depends evidently on Solinus (chapter 52) but it calls the island Thile. The confusion in the works of other writers consists in putting the Indian island Tylos together with the description of the northern Thule, but they always give it its correct name as read in Solinus (it is to be noted, too, that the name of the Atlantic island is spelt sometimes without an *h*, but that of the Indian island never with one). When now the exaggerated description of this happy island is headed by the name Thile, then there is more than a mere confusion of names. When there is a confusion, there is a confusion of the very notions, a fact that is likely to show that already the interpolator of Solinus could look upon his Thule as an island of wonder. Here is a part of the poem:

*De insula Thile*

Non habet exile mundi decus insula Thile,  
 Haec qui lignorum nescit casum foliorum;  
 Non ili fronde nemus nudatur, oliva volemus,  
 Ficus, acer, cornus, pirus, alnus, amigdalus, ornus,  
 Nux, arbor quaevis foliis viret omnibus aevis.

*Mysterium*<sup>28</sup>

Ut nobis visum, locus hic signat paradisum

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.* 287, 294.

<sup>27</sup> MS Arundel No. 201. in British Museum, fol. 44 vo.; printed by Thomas Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, London 1844, 94 n.

<sup>28</sup> I. e. moralization.

This is to say that the happy character of the island is overstated in such a manner that it may be called, if but in an allegorical way, an epiphany of Paradise. This ought not to astonish us. In mediaeval literature we have also other traces of descriptions of happy islands, inspired by ancient authors but saturated with mediaeval concepts of non-Roman origin. Isidorus Hispalensis in his description of the Canaries, which he too, like the ancient authors, calls *Fortunatae Insulae*, is compelled to add: *Unde gentilium error, et saecularum carmina poetarum, propter soli foecunditatem, easdem esse paradisum putaverunt.*<sup>29</sup> So it is quite natural that other mediaeval poets, like Geoffrey of Monmouth, use the description of Isidore in compiling a story of another happy island, Avallon, unknown to antiquity and derived from Celtic myths.<sup>30</sup> In *Vita Merlini*<sup>31</sup> Telgesinus gives a long cosmographical account. Perhaps it is not mere chance that Avallon is spoken of just after the mention of Tylos, though it hardly could be imagined in the proximity of India. The respective lines (906 ff.) of the poem run thus:

At Tylos aeterno producit vere virentes  
Flores et frondes per tempora cuncta virendo.  
Insula Pomorum, quae Fortunata vocatur,  
Ex re nomen habet, quia per se singula profert.  
Non opus est illi sultantibus arva colonis:  
Omnis abest cultus, nisi quem natura ministrat.  
Ultro fecundas segetes producit et uvas  
Nataque poma suis praetenso germine silvis.  
Omnia gignit humus vice graminis ultro redundans.  
Annis centenis aut ultra vivitur illie.<sup>32</sup>

These two mediaeval poems, the anonymous one of the Arundel MS and the *Vita Merlini* of Geoffrey, give us a clue to the better understanding of the Irish interpolation of Solinus, which itself is a precious witness of the mediaeval concept of Thule. They show us that if the confusion of the names Tylos and Thyle is to be in

<sup>29</sup> *Etym.* XIV. 6. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Edmond Faral, *La légende Arthurienne* I/2, Paris 1929, 299 ff. believes that the name of Avallon was created by Geoffrey, but he admits that it was created in order to design the well-known concept of a Celtic happy island.

<sup>31</sup> Ed. by Faral, *op. cit.* I/3. 305 ff.

<sup>32</sup> On the ancient and mediaeval sources of this passage cf. Faral, *op. cit.* I/2. 302 ff.

any way held responsible for the development of the idea of a fertile Thule, this was only possible because the Middle Ages were inclined to localize happily fertile islands not only in tropical India, but also in the seas of Europe. The anonymous poem is interesting because of the explicit identification of the happy island with Paradise. Geoffrey, on the other hand, gives us a valuable parallel to pseudo-Solinus by giving the name of *Avallon* or *Insula Pomorum* 'Apple Island'<sup>33</sup> to his island *quae Fortunata vocatur*. This is nothing extraordinary, if we think of the rôle of the apple in Irish myths on the Happy Islands as e. g. in *Echtra Condla*;<sup>34</sup> and it is for that very reason that the words *diutina Pomona copiosa* of the Irish interpolator of Solinus are very significant. It will be seen that this mediaeval description of the ancient Thule is penetrated by the belief in the Happy Islands. Perhaps even the statement *utuntur feminis vulgo* is a reminiscence of the great sensual pleasures that the Celtic Happy Islands afford their inhabitants. (We are used to calling the belief in the Happy Islands a Celtic one, as Celtic religious texts give us its most genuine examples, but it is a belief which must be called a common European one in the Middle Ages if we consider how the whole mediaeval literature of Europe is full of its traces.)

If we would cling to the rationalist explanation which attributes the transfer of the Happy Islands to the remotest land in the North to a mere mistaking of Thule for Tylos, we must further suppose that an ancient author made this transfer. The geographical knowledge of the Greeks and Romans concerning the North was rudimentary enough (in early times at least) to permit the myth of the happy country of the Hyperboreans.<sup>35</sup> But the ancient did nothing of the kind. For them, the word *Ultima Thule*, with its emphatic epithet, was charged with deep significance and mystery—this atmosphere is reflected still in our mediaeval authors, and no doubt, played its part in opening the way

<sup>33</sup> The meaning of the word *Avallon* is, in spite of other theories, indeed this, cf. Ernst Windisch, "Das keltische Britannien bis auf Kaiser Arthur," *Abh. d. phil.-hist. Kl. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 29, 1912, 114; Louis Cons, "Avallo," *Mod. Philology* 28, 1930/31, 385 ff.; C. H. Slover, "Avalon," *ibid.* 395 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 17, 195 ff. The parallel was already remarked by Windisch *l. cit.* For more parallels see Cons, *op. cit.*, 393 f.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Daebitz, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. "Hyperboreer."

to the evolution of the Thule idea. Yet Thule as a happy island appears only in the Middle Ages, in writers who, themselves living in a cold climate, could have known perfectly well that the climate of the far north was even more severe than their own. It is not upon a mere conjecture that we base this statement: Beda in a passage cited by Adam (see above) deduces the division of day and night in Thule quite logically from the circumstances in Britain. So that if mediaeval authors nevertheless confirmed the fertile character of Thule, or were at least inclined to confuse it with other fertile, or happy, islands, this must have a special reason. And this reason cannot be other than the transfer of the myths of the distant Happy islands of the Dead to the distant, *ultima*, Thule. The deep reality of *distance*, the religious aspect of the *last* of the islands as the *last* station of human existence is responsible for this transfer.

It was necessary for us to bring out all this in order to see clearly Adam of Bremen's attitude with regard to his Vinland. Vinland *per definitionem* was a fertile island, it was also the remotest one Adam knew of. The remotest island, the remote island *par excellence* of the imagination of his times, *Ultima Thule*, could without difficulty be described as being marvelously fertile in spite of the nearness of eternal ice and fog. So it was quite natural that the sentence *Ultra Thilen*—i. e. beyond the *last* island—*navigations unius diei mare concretum est* was intercalated by Adam into the description of the island which was for him both remote and fertile: into the description of Vinland. This means that, in the line of tradition which Adam represents, Vinland took the place of *Ultima Thule*, of the remote, fertile and ice-surrounded island. It could not have taken this place, had it not been adapted to fill it.

That the line of tradition reported by Adam is not an entirely independent one, but that it represents the whole of the Vinland tradition, we have already seen in one point of slight importance: we have seen that Adam's mention of the discovery of the country "by many" is not contradictory to the account given in our main sources for the Vinland tradition. We are also able to show that in other points too there are coincidences between Adam and the rest of the tradition, so that we can speak of one single Vinland tradition. (To be sure, the divergencies of the two sagas demonstrate that this single tradition was later on split up into several lines; but now we are speaking only of the general characteristics.)

Precisely the nearness of Vinland to the icy and uninhabited regions has its parallel in another of our early pieces of evidence on Vinland, in the runic inscription of Hönen.

This inscription,<sup>36</sup> which is unfortunately lost, only copies remaining, dates from the years about 1010-1050.<sup>37</sup> If the reading proposed by Bugge is right—as only imperfect copies are preserved, there may be doubts<sup>38</sup>—the inscription tells how some voyagers underwent great misery in the icy deserts (*óbygð*) near Vinland. We risk a *circulus vitiosus* if we try to corroborate the authenticity of this inscription by its agreement with Adam's view and at the same time use the parallelism of Adam with the inscription as a proof of the close adherence of this author to the common Vinland tradition—but perhaps it is true in this case, as in many others, that two halves reinforce each other and make a whole piece of argument. We may the more cheerfully take this risk, as we have also in one Vinland saga a sentence which is likely to strengthen our argument. The *Eirikssaga rauða*<sup>39</sup> characterizes one of the chief companions of Thorfinn Karlsefni, Thorhall the Hunter. First his bad qualities are enumerated: he is black, demon-like, taciturn and evil-tongued, and a bad Christian. And after this, as a contrast, as if to show his value in the expedition, it is told that he had a deep knowledge of the *óbygðir*. This could have hardly been an advantageous quality with an expedition into a sunny country where wheat and vine grow without being cultivated, had it not been supposed that the *óbygðir*—this word designates the icy deserts in the neighbourhood of the Greenland settlements—in some way belonged to the geographical complex of Vinland.

If Adam transferred the characteristics of *Ultima Thule* to Vinland, he ended with the same concept as that represented in the Vinland tradition. This is a proof of what we have said above: that the tradition about Vinland was well suited to be drawn into the cycle of tradition represented by the classical and mediaeval literature on Thule. In other words: Vinland was looked upon as

<sup>36</sup> Sophus Bugge, *Norges indskrifter med de yngren runer, Hönen-runerne fra Ringerike*, Kristiania 1902.

<sup>37</sup> Bugge, *op. cit.* 19.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. e. g. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Norse Discoverers of America*, Oxford 1921, 286 n.; or the review by Hugo Gering, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 38, 1906, 140 f.

<sup>39</sup> Chapter 8.

a strange and mystical island which, just as well as Thule, could properly bear the significant epithet *ultima*, and this as early as in the century of its discovery. So we are told by the evidence of Adam of Bremen and—if Bugge's reading and dating are correct—by the still earlier evidence of the Hönen stone. We have elsewhere risked the hypothesis<sup>40</sup> that Vinland already was so considered by the very men who set out in search of it. We have risked even the statement that the notion of Vinland itself (not of the other geographical names mentioned in the sagas) was primatively considered as one of a remote and deadly country which could be looked for, but which could never be reached. The series of ideas which there we have tried to evaluate we now have undertaken to buttress from another side.

JOHN TH. HONTI

*Paris*

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UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF JEAN-BAPTISTE RACINE  
TO THE ABBÉ RENAUDOT

The following six letters from the eldest son of Jean Racine to the Abbé Renaudot are to be found in one of the volumes of the latter's papers preserved in the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris<sup>1</sup> where they are wrongly catalogued as letters from Louis Racine, Jean-Baptiste's younger brother. The first four of these letters are dated from the Hague, where Jean-Baptiste was attached to the French embassy, and were written but a few months after his father's death in April 1699. At that time he had come to Paris where he had been received by the King and granted a pension of a thousand livres.<sup>2</sup> The last two letters were written from Rome where he had gone in the suite of the Cardinal d'Estrées. These letters are interesting not merely for the details which they give regarding the young man's career after he had lost his father's valuable protection, but also for their literary refer-

<sup>40</sup> *Acta Ethnologica* 1. cit.

<sup>1</sup> *Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises* 7491.

<sup>2</sup> P. Mesnard: *Oeuvres de Jean Racine (Edition des Grands Ecrivains de la France, Revised edition)*, vii, pp. 340-42, letters from Willard to Préfontaine.

ences, their graphic description of his voyage to Italy, and their account of conditions in Rome during the last months of the life of Innocent XII.

The abbé Renaudot may have been interested in aiding the son of his good friend in part because he could find use for the information which the young Racine might send him from foreign capitals. Renaudot was frequently engaged in compiling mémoires for the French foreign minister, especially concerning affairs in England, Spain, and Rome, and he himself went to Rome in the suite of the Cardinal de Noailles only a few months after Racine had made his journey. But it is not necessary to find any selfish motives in his befriending the son of Jean Racine. He had been devoted to the father.<sup>3</sup> He had the reputation of being a charitable, witty, sincere, and pious man. A very learned orientalist, he was a member of the *Académie française* and the *Académie des Inscriptions*, and the author of many works on theology and on the oriental branches of the church. It was to him that Boileau dedicated his *Epître sur l'Amour de Dieu*.

I<sup>4</sup>

A la Haye le 28<sup>e</sup> juillet 1699.

Il y auroit déjà longtems, Monsieur, que je me fusse donné l'honneur de vous escrire depuis que je suis ici, si je n'avois craint de vous importuner; et si j'eusse cru que mes lettres valussent la peine de detourner une personne de vostre merite et aussi occupé que vous. Je priay il y a quelque tems Mr Despreaux de vouloir bien vous demander si vous trouveriez bon que je me donnasse cet honneur, mais comme je n'ay point encore receu de response de luy, et que je ne crains rien davantage que de me laisser oublier dans l'esprit d'un amy tel que vous, il faut que vous me pardonniez, si je prends cette liberté aujourd'huy. Un de mes plus grands regrets en partant de Paris a esté assurement de ne pouvoir point aller prendre congé de vous, et vous renouveler tous les remerciements que j'auray a vous faire toute ma vie; mais mon depart fut si brusque, et j'arrivay si tard a Paris, qu'il me fut absolument impossible de pouvoir trouver un moment de tems pour aller jusques chez vous. Quoy que j'aye esté tres innocent la dedans, et que j'aye esté assez puny moy mesme d'estre obligé de partir ainsy sans avoir le plaisir de vous voir, je vous avoüe cependant, Monsieur, que je ne

<sup>3</sup> See the letter from Racine to Jean-Baptiste Racine, October 24, 1698: "M. de Valincourt et M. l'abbé Renaudot m'ont tenu la meilleure compagnie du monde: je vous les nomme entre autres, parce qu'ils n'ont presque bougé de ma chambre. . . ." (Mesnard, *op. cit.*, viii, p. 304.)

<sup>4</sup> Nouv. Acq. fr. 7491, fol. 397. This is a single sheet written on both sides. There is no address nor seal.

laisse pas d'avoir toujours cela sur le cœur. Je serois au desespoir que vous pussiez attribuer a ma negligence, l'impuissance ou j'ay esté de ne pouvoir m'acquiter d'une chose que l'inclination seule me pressoit assez de faire, quand il n'y auroit point toutes les raisons de reconnaissance qui m'y engagent. Je voudrois de tout mon cœur, qu'il y eut dans ce pays des choses dignes de vous estre mandées, et qui pussent me fournir des occasions de vous faire quelquefois ressouvenir de moy. Si je pouvois vous y estre bon en la moindre chose du monde, je vous prie, Monsieur, de croire, que si vous voulez me faire quelque plaisir c'est de me le mander et de m'y employer. Mr de Bonrepaus<sup>6</sup> me charge de vous faire mille complimentens de sa part; je vous supplie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien que je vous demande toujours quelque place dans votre amitié, estant avec tout l'attachement possible, Monsieur, vostre tres humble et tres tres obeissant serviteur

Racine.

II \*

A la Haye le 9<sup>e</sup> 7<sup>bre</sup> 1699.

Je ne crois pas, Monsieur, que personne ayt reçeu une lettre qui luy ayt fait plus de plaisir que celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire, et je ne puis vous dire combien je suis sensible a toutes les marques d'amitié que vous m'y donnez; je m'estimeray assurement bien heureux si je puis jamais m'en rendre aussy digne que j'en suis reconnoissant. Il faut estre aussy bon que vous l'estes, pour vouloir bien que je vous escrive quelquefois, n'ayant rien a vous mander qui merite votre attention. Je crains seulement que vous ne croyez qu'il n'y ait que de la vanité dans l'envie que j'ay de recevoir de vos nouvelles, car tous ceux qui scauront que je suis en commerce de lettres avec une personne comme vous ne pourront s'empescher de concevoir une haute Idée de mon merite, mais je vous assure neantmoins, qu'il n'y a que le desir que j'ay de me conserver quelque place dans vostre amitié et dans vostre ressouvenir qui m'oblige a vous prier de me faire la grace de me donner quelquefois de vos nouvelles. Je montray a Mr de Bonrepaus ce que vous me mandiez touchant la querelle de Mr Despreaux et de la Chapelle.<sup>7</sup> Quoy que plusieurs de ses amis luy en

<sup>5</sup> François Dusson de Bonrepaus, ambassador of France to the Hague. He was frequently mentioned in Racine's correspondence.

<sup>6</sup> Fols. 398, 399. A folded sheet written on four pages. No address nor seal.

<sup>7</sup> The dramatist, Jean de La Chapelle (1656-1723), was the "directeur" of the meeting of the Academy during which Valincourt took the place left vacant by the death of Racine. La Chapelle is said to have offended Boileau in his remarks, and the latter replied with his epigram against Boyer and La Chapelle:

J'approuve que chez vous, messieurs, on examine  
Qui du pompeux Corneille ou du tendre Racine  
Exita dans Paris plus d'applaudissements:  
Mais je voudrais qu'on cherchât tout d'un temps  
(La question n'est pas moins belle)

eussent mandé beaucoup de choses, il convint qu'on ne luy avoit rien escrit de plus agreable, ny de plus joli que les quatre lignes de votre (*sic*) lettre qui en parlent; et nous rimes beaucoup de l'irregularité du cours des beaux esprits argentés.<sup>8</sup> Nous n'avions point entendu parler icy de l'histoire de la scission de Pologne,<sup>9</sup> et nous en avons esté fort etonnés, n'y ayant point de livres qu'on imprime icy plus volontiers que ceux qu'on a defendus en France. On y a imprimé deux volumes du *Thelemaque* de Mr de Cambray,<sup>10</sup> et on en promet encore trois. Ils ont esté extremement courus dans ce pais; si je ne croyois que vous les avez leüs, je vous les aurois déjà envoyés, mais s'il y avoit quelque livre icy que vous eussiez envie d'avoir vous me feriez un grand plaisir de m'en charger. Il n'y a point icy beaucoup de nouvelles. Le bruit court seulement que le Roy de Dannk<sup>11</sup> est mort. On dit que le Roy d'Angl. sera icy au commencement du mois qui vient, voulant repasser en Angleterre de meilleure heure que l'année passée, pour prevenir s'il peut les affaires que son Parlement luy prepare, et qui luy seront a ce qu'on pretend aussy desagreables que celles qui se passerent l'hyver dernier.<sup>12</sup> Milord Portland<sup>13</sup> se tient toujours icy, et ne pouvant plus estre bon partisan, il s'est enfin borné a estre bon Republiquain.<sup>14</sup> Vous voulez bien, Monsieur, me permettre de vous prier de faire mes complimentens a Mr Despreaux quand vous le verrez; je suis,

Qui du fade Boyer ou du see La Chapelle  
Exita plus de siflements.

See Boileau: *Oeuvres complètes*, Gidel edition, III, pp. 82 ff.

<sup>8</sup> This phrase is probably a quotation from Renaudot's letter.

<sup>9</sup> From this meagre reference it is impossible to identify the book in question with any certainty. May it perhaps be Jolli: *Histoire de Pologne et du grand-duc'hé de Lithuanie*, the second edition of which appeared with an Amsterdam imprint in 1699? This book tells of the intrigues of the Abbé de Polignac in Poland and of the failure of the Prince de Conti in his attempts to gain the crown.

<sup>10</sup> Fénelon's *Télémaque* was printed at the Hague in four volumes in 1699 after the first Paris edition had been forbidden.

<sup>11</sup> Christian V of Denmark died August 25, 1699.

<sup>12</sup> The previous winter the English parliament had offended William II by a number of measures. It had revoked the grants of forfeited estates in Ireland which he had made to his favorites, it had disbanded his Dutch Guards, and it had limited the size of the army.

<sup>13</sup> William Bentwick, first Earl of Portland (1649-1709), the friend and confidential diplomat of William II. He had been Ambassador to France and had concluded the treaties for the partition of Spain for which he was later impeached.

<sup>14</sup> Portland was so jealous of the growing favor of the Earl of Albemarle that in May 1699 he resigned all of his many offices in the royal household and insisted that he was retiring to private life in the country. In spite of this, he followed the King to Holland in June and returned with him to England in October.

Monsieur, avec toute la reconnaissance et l'inclination possible *vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur*

Racine.

III<sup>15</sup>

A La Haye, le 2<sup>e</sup> Novbre.<sup>16</sup>

Je ne sçay en verité, Monsieur, de quels termes je dois me servir pour vous remercier de la générosité et de l'attention avec laquelle vous voulez bien veiller sur ce qui me regarde. C'est véritablement en cette occasion que je reconnois que l'on n'est pas toujours maistre d'exprimer tout ce qu'on a dans le cœur, et il faut s'il vous plaist que vous ayez la bonté de suppléer à mon peu d'éloquence. Je n'ay jamais tant désiré d'en avoir qu'aujourd'hui, et jamais je ne m'en suis trouvé si court; mais qui est celuy, qui a ma place ne se trouveroit aussiy embarrassé que je le suis à vous marquer toute la reconnaissance que j'en ay? Je ne suis pas le seul qui soit charmé et penetré du soin que vous prenez de moy; Mr de Bonrepaus a qui je coursus aussitot communiquer la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire l'a ressenti et admiré, comme si c'eut esté luy qui y fust interessé, et peu s'en fallut qu'il ne prit la plume sur le champ pour vous en remercier. Il m'a chargé de vous bien remercier de l'honneur de *vostre souvenir*, et de vous faire mille compliments de sa part.

Je luy ay demandé son avis sur tout ce que vous me mandez, et il m'a conseillé d'abord de profiter de l'envie que Mr le M<sup>e</sup> de Torcy<sup>17</sup> vous a témoigné avoir de m'envoyer aupres de Mr Obrecht,<sup>18</sup> et il regarde cela aussiy bien que moy, comme une grande marque de la bonté dont il veut m'honorer dans les suittes, mais puisque vous me permettez, Monsieur, de vous confier librement mes sentimens et mon inclination sur ce sujet, j'ay crû qu'avant que de m'engager en rien, je devois vous mander naturellement l'estat de mes affaires, afin que vous puissiez mieux juger de ce qui me convient et du party que j'ay a prendre, car je vous avoûe que je suis fort incertain la dessus et j'ay grand besoin de vos conseils pour me determiner. Je ne balancerois point dans un autre tems a m'en aller a Francfort, mais je ne sçay si je pourrois faire la depense de ce voyage. Depuis la mort de mon Pere je n'ay encore touché d'autre argent que mille francs que Mr de Cavoye<sup>19</sup> m'a fait avoir pour ma course de Paris icy.<sup>20</sup> Je ne dois

<sup>15</sup> Fols. 408, 409, a folded sheet written on four pages. A fragment of a black wax seal remains.

<sup>16</sup> Another hand has written here: "1699?"

<sup>17</sup> Jean-Baptiste Colbert, marquis de Torcy et de Sablé, Minister of Foreign Affairs, frequently mentioned by Racine in his correspondence.

<sup>18</sup> Ulrich Obrecht (1647-1701), *préteur royal* at Strasbourg and a learned jurisconsult and philologist, who had been sent to Frankfurt in 1698 to attend to the affairs of Madame.

<sup>19</sup> Louis Oger, marquis de Cavoye, *grand maréchal des logis de la maison du roi*, a great friend of Racine and Boileau, frequently mentioned in the correspondence of the former.

<sup>20</sup> See n. 2.

toucher le peu de revenu que j'ay que vers le milieu de l'année prochaine, et je seray obligé jusques là de vivre d'un très grand ménage ou d'emprunter, ce qui me mettroit fort en arrière, quelque modique qu'en fut la somme. Voila, Monsieur, la seule raison qui me fait hésiter à suivre la pensée de Mr de Torcy. Vous pouvez bien croire que je n'oserois l'alleguer à d'autres qu'à vous, et je rougis mesme de vous faire entrer dans un aussi petit détail que celuy cy. J'ecris cependant aujourd'huyl a ma mère pour sçavoir ce qu'elle peut faire pour moy, quoy que je craigne bien qu'avec la famille qu'elle a, elle ne soit pas en estat de m'avancer grande chose. Mr de Torcy me fit l'honneur de me dire en partant, qu'après le séjour que j'aurois fait icy, il m'envoyeroyt a Frankfort, mais j'esperois alors de demeurer plus longtems avec Mr de Bonrepaus, et d'attraper aupres de luy le courant de mon petit revenu, dont je seroys obligé de manger pres de la moitié par avance si je m'en allois maintenant en Allemagne. Pour ce qui est de mon goust et de mon inclination, j'eusse fort souhaité que Mr de Torcy eut songé a m'employer seulement du coté de l'Italie. Mr de Bonrepaus tombe d'accord que cela me conviendroit mieux, et je me souviens de vous avoir entendu dire que les emplois d'Allemagne estoient fort ruineux, et en effet n'ayant point plus de bien que j'en ay, et ignorant la langue du Pais,<sup>21</sup> j'aurois de la peine a y estre agreablement. Mon but seroit donc, s'il y avoit quelqu'uns des envoyés qui sont en Italie aupres desquels je pusse m'instruire des affaires de ce Pays la, de m'y en aller, d'y vivre a mes depens, et de travailler a me rendre utile quelque jour dans ce quartier. Mais apres tout, Monsieur, vous sçavez que je n'ay point de volonté ny a consulter ny a suivre, et je suis trop heureux que l'on veüille faire quelque attention a moy. Ainsy je vous supplie d'avoir la bonté de me faire sçavoir de quelle maniere Mr de Torcy vous a parlé de m'envoyer a Francfort, parce que s'il vous l'a dit pour me le proposer, je n'examine plus rien, et dans quelque lieu que ce soit, deussai-je emprunter, je sacrifieray toutes choses pour executer ses ordres, et je seroys au desespoir qu'il pût soupçonner le moins du monde que je voulusse choisir avec luy et prendre mes commodités. S'il ne vous (avoit)<sup>22</sup> dit cela que comme une simple pensée qui luy fust venue, vous pourriez aisement luy en faire naître quelque autre, sans qu'il parût que j'y eusse part ny que je fisse aucune difficulté d'accepter ce qu'il m'offriroit, et je crois qu'en ce cas il seroit bon que vous ne fissiez pas semblant avec luy de m'avoir encore rien escrit la dessus. Enfin, Monsieur, avec quelque liberté que je vous expose icy mes sentimens, n'y ayez je vous prie aucun egard. Je m'abandonne entièrement a vos conseils, estant bien persuadé que je me trouveray beaucoup mieux de les suivre, que d'écouter mon inclination. Je puis vous assurer que ma plus grande ambition est de meriter la continua-

<sup>21</sup> He had been advised by Bonrepaus and Torcy to study German a year before this, and his father had urged him to follow their advice. See Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 239.

<sup>22</sup> The editor has supplied this word, for the Ms. has here been torn by the removal of the seal.

tion de vostre amitié et de pouvoir vous persuader de la reconnaissance infinie et de l'attachement avec lequel je suis et seray toute ma vie vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

Racine.

*Address:* A Monsieur Monsieur l'abbé Renaudot chez Mr Bardou aux Galleries du Louvre a Paris.

IV<sup>22</sup>

A La Haye, le 10<sup>e</sup> Xbre 1699.

Je vous demande mille pardons, Monsieur, d'avoir attendu si tard a vous remercier de la derniere Lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escire; mais je l'eusse deja fait si je n'avois pas esté incommodé depuis quinze jours d'une espece de petite dyssenterie dont j'ay craint les suittes et qui m'a obligé de prendre quelques remedes; quoy que je n'en sois pas encore entierement guery, je me porte neantmoins beaucoup mieux et j'espere que ce ne sera rien. Mr de Valincourt<sup>24</sup> avoit eû la bonté de me mander l'heureux succes de vos negociations. Je ne pouvois souhaitter par rapport a l'estat present de mes affaires autre chose que ce que vous avez conclu a mon egard. Quoy que j'eusse sans peine obeÿ a l'ordre que Mr de Torcy m'eut donné d'aller en Allemagne, je suis cependant plus aise de m'en retourner a Paris pour y avoir soin de mes petites affaires; je vous assure, Monsieur, que le plus grand plaisir que je me propose d'y avoir, est celuy de vous embrasser, et de vous remercier autant que je le dois de toutes vos bontés. Il semble que vous mettez les remerciemens que j'ay eû l'honneur de vous en faire, au nombre des complimens ordinaires, mais je vous supplie de croire qu'ils partent du fonds de mon cœur, et que l'on ne peut estre penetré de plus de reconnaissance que je le suis. Monsieur le Cardinal d'Estrées<sup>25</sup> me fait bien de l'honneur de vouloir me permettre de le

<sup>22</sup> Fols. 406, 407, a folded sheet written on four pages. The seal is of black wax stamped with a swan. In spite of the fact that this letter precedes number III in the volume of Renaudot's MSS. (Nouv. Ac. Fr. 7491), it was certainly written after number III. The confusion arose from the abbreviation "Xbre" which was certainly intended for "décembre."

<sup>24</sup> J.-B.-H. du Trouset de Valincourt (1653-1730), the protégé of the poet Racine and his successor in the Academy and in the office of royal historian. It was in his house that Racine's historical manuscripts were burned. Jean-Baptiste Racine in his later life never forgave de Valincourt for his letter to the abbé d'Olivet which the latter published in his *Histoire de l'Académie française*, II, pp. 337 ff. See the letter from J.-B. Racine to Louis Racine in Mesnard, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 348 ff.

<sup>25</sup> César, cardinal d'Estrées (1628-1714), was frequently charged with diplomatic missions by Louis XIV. At the time this letter was written, he was about to go to Rome where Innocent XII was thought to be on his death bed. Louis sent him ahead of the other French cardinals because the fantastic actions of the Cardinal de Bouillon and of the French ambas-

suivre quand il ira a Rome; j'ay toujours aspiré apres cela, et je feray tout mon possible pour me rendre digne des bontés qu'il veut avoir pour moy. Je n'ay osé prendre la liberté de luy ecrire la dessus, mais j'ay prié Mr de Valincourt de luy en faire mes tres humbles remerciemens quand il en trouvera l'occasion, et vous voulez bien que je vous demande la mesme grace, lorsque vous le verrez.

Je crois, Monsieur, que j'auray bientost le plaisir de vous voir; Mr de Bonrepaus prit hier son audience de congé et partira au premier jour.<sup>26</sup> Vous verrez dans la Gazette de ce pais cy le compliment qu'il a fait a Mr les Estates Generaux; il y a esté enseré mot pour mot, et tout le monde l'a trouvé fort bien tourné. Mr de Bonrepaus m'a chargé de vous faire mille complimentens de sa part. J'ay grande envie d'estre a Paris, pour pouvoir avoir l'honneur de vous entretenir quelquefois, et vous temoigner toute la reconnaissance que je conserveray toute (ma vie des)<sup>27</sup> obligations que je vous ay. Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de croire qu'on ne peut rien adjouter a l'attachement avec lequel je suis vostre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur

Racine.

*Address: A Monsieur Monsieur l'abbé Renaudot a Paris.*

V<sup>28</sup>

A Rome le 23<sup>e</sup> Mars 1700.

Vous aurez sans doute esté surpris, Monsieur, de n'avoir pas encore reçeu de mes nouvelles, me croyant deja peut estre depuis longtemps a Rome. Il est vray qu'il y a un mois naturellement que je deuvois y estre, mais je n'y suis arrivé que mercredy dernier, quoy que Monsieur le Cardinal d'Estrées soit resté a dix lieues d'icy, dans une maison de campagne de Mr le Duc de Lanti.<sup>29</sup> Il y attend depuis huit ou dix jours Mr les Cardinaux de Janson<sup>30</sup> et de Coälin,<sup>31</sup> qui en debarquant a Ligourne s'y sont trouvés

sador, the Prince of Monaco, were creating a great scandal. See Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, "Grands écrivains" edition, VII, p. 13. See also n. 43.

<sup>26</sup> A note in Saint-Simon, *op. cit.* (IV, p. 281, n. 4), says that Bonrepaus returned from the Hague in October. We see from this letter that he did not. He had requested to be replaced and his successor had been named in October. See Saint-Simon, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 355.

<sup>27</sup> The words in parentheses are supplied by the editor, the MS. having been torn in this place by the seal.

<sup>28</sup> Fols. 420, 421, a folded sheet written on four sides. The seal has been torn off, leaving a mere fragment of black wax.

<sup>29</sup> Antoine Lanti delle Rovere, duc de Bomarse, brother-in-law of Mme des Ursins, a great friend of the Cardinal d'Estrées. The Cardinal arrived in Rome the day after this letter was written.

<sup>30</sup> Toussaint de Forbin, Cardinal de Janson (1630-1713), had been ambassador to Poland and to Rome, and became chargé d'affaires again in Rome in 1700.

<sup>31</sup> Pierre du Cambout, Cardinal de Coislin (1636-1706), *grand aumonier de France*.

enrumés tous les deux, et ont esté obligés de s'y reposer de toutes leurs fatigues. Pour moy, j'ay desesperé bien des fois de pouvoir jamais arriver a Rome. Je fus toujours malade en allant de Paris à Lion,<sup>32</sup> et cela m'empescha de pouvoir suivre Mr le Cardinal a Turin,<sup>33</sup> n'ayant pas osé m'hasarder de passer avec mon incommodité les montagnes de Savoye. Je m'en allay tout doucement a Antibes pour m'embarquer sur les Galeres, qui estoient parties de Marseilles depuis quinze jours sans pouvoir avancer a cause du mauvais tems. Je les attendis cinq ou six jours, et a la fin l'impatience m'ayant pris, je m'en allay a Gennes dans une petite felouque.<sup>34</sup> J'y trouvay Mr le Cardinal, qui se lassant d'attendre aussy les Galeres monta dans une fregatte du Roy qui estoit dans le port de Gennes pour aller a Ligourne. Nous eûmes le premier jour le vent fort bon mais le lendemain il cessa tout a fait, et estant ensuite devenu contraire, nous obligea a revenir a Gennes. Mr le Cardinal s'en alla des le lendemain matin par terre au travers des montagnes dans une chaise a porteurs, et nous dit de prendre une felouque; la mer ne nous fut pas plus favorable qu'auparavant. Elle devint si grosse que nous fumes trop heureux de pouvoir nous refugier dans un mechant village sur la coste ou nous restâmes quatre jours entiers, et le mauvais tems durant toujours, nous passâmes a pied l'espace de deux bonnes lieues les montagnes qui sont sur le bord de la mer, pour gagner un Bourg ou nous pussions trouver des chaises et des chevaux. Voila, Monsieur, la relation de mon voyage, qui m'a comme vous le jugez bien, fort ennuyé et beaucoup couté, l'ayant fait depuis Lion jusques icy entiere-ment a mes depens. Si je ne m'estois pas obstiné a suivre toujours de pres Mr le Cardinal, je serois icy depuis longtems. Il a pris pour se loger le Palais de Mr le Duc de Lanti; il a eû la bonté de m'y donner une chambre. Il y loge aussy (Mr<sup>es</sup> les) <sup>35</sup> Chevaliers de Charost,<sup>36</sup> d'Avaux,<sup>37</sup> Mr . . .<sup>38</sup> de Mouchy son neveu, Mr D'Udicourt,<sup>39</sup> et le fils du Procureur General du Parlement de Besançon, nommé Mr de Vair.<sup>40</sup> Je fus bien faché de ne pou-voir pas avoir l'honneur de vous dire adieu a Paris; je ne reçus la lettre que vous m'escriviste, qu'a huit heures du soir, ayant diné ce jour la en

<sup>32</sup> They had left on January 23. See Saint-Simon, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 14, n. 9.

<sup>33</sup> See Saint-Simon, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 14-15.

<sup>34</sup> Here "que je" has been written and then crossed out.

<sup>35</sup> The words in parentheses are supplied by the editor, the MS. having been torn in this place by the removal of the seal.

<sup>36</sup> Probably Louis-Basile, son of Armand de Béthune, duc de Charost.

<sup>37</sup> Jean-Jacques de Mesmes (1675-1741) Chevalier de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, son of the Comte d'Avaux.

<sup>38</sup> The MS. is torn here. Marguerite d'Estrées, aunt of the Cardinal, had married Gabriel de Bournel de Namps, Baron de Mouchy.

<sup>39</sup> This reading is not absolutely certain.

<sup>40</sup> Probably Jean-Antoine Boisot de Vaire. See Seguin de Jallerange, *Liste des Présidents et Conseillers au Parlement de Besançon*, Besançon, 1858, in-4<sup>o</sup>.

Ville, et je passay toute la nuit debout, a preparer le peu de hardes que j'empertois avec moy; mais je priay ma mere de vous en envoyer faire mes excuses le lendemain. Je suis toujours, Monsieur, avec toute la reconnaissance et l'attachement possible entierrement a vous.

Racine.

Le S. Pere se porte toujours bien.

*Address:* A Monsieur Monsieur Bardou aux Galeries du Louvre, pour faire tenir s'il luy plaist a Monsieur l'abbé Renaudot.

VI <sup>11</sup>

A Rome le 24<sup>e</sup> Aoust 1700.

J'ay reçeu, Monsieur, la Lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'escrire le 12<sup>e</sup> du mois passé. J'y eusse repondu plustost si je ne craignois de vous importuner par de trop frequentes Lettres. Je m'estime si heureux que vous vouliez bien que je vous escrive quelquefois, que j'apprehende toujours d'en abuser. Mr de Valincourt a enfin rompu le silence qu'il avoit gardé avec moy si longtems. J'ay reçeu deux Lettres de luy toutes pleines de bontés. Il se plaint beaucoup du grand nombre d'affaires qu'il a, et qui ne luy permettent pas de jouir de sa maison de campagne <sup>12</sup> autant qu'il se l'estoit promis. Je ne sçay s'il vous aura communiqué le projet d'un ouvrage qu'il m'impose et qu'il pretend luy devoir estre d'une grande utilité; mais il faudroit pour cela que ce fut un autre que moy qu'il en chargeat; vous en jugerez vous mesme, et je ne doute pas que vous ne le trouviez aussy bien que moy fort au dessus de mes forces. Il me demande une relation exacte de toute la Cour de Rome, a commencer depuis le Pape jusqu'au dernier des Cardinaux, dont il veut que je luy describe non seulement les âges, les noms, leurs maisons et le tems de leurs promotions, mais encore tous leurs interets, leur Doctrine, leurs humeurs, leurs liaisons, et enfin toutes leurs bonnes et mauvaises qualités. Voila assurement un tres beau, et tres vaste sujet, mais je ne sçay si le Roy demandoit une pareille chose a ses ministres, s'ils pouvoient bien repondre de s'en acquitter comme il faut. Mr de Valincourt a sans doute une grande Idée de ma capacité et de mon experience pour me proposer une telle entreprise. Je souhaitterois de tout mon cœur pouvoir y repondre, mais il faudroit estre un peu plus habille que je ne suis. Je le tenteray neantmoins quoy qu'il y ait a cela beaucoup de temerité, et quelque mal que je réussisse mieux il verra du moins que ce n'est ny la bonne-volonté ny l'envie de me rendre digne de ses bontés qui me manque.

Je ne sqaurois assez vous remercier, Monsieur, de la bonté que vous avez de vouloir bien faire ma cour vous mesme a Monsieur le Cardinal. Il me felicite souvent d'avoir un amy et un Patron tel que vous, et quand il est sur vostre sujet, il ne finit pas aisement; et l'on voit qu'il parle du fonds

<sup>11</sup> Fols. 427, 428, a folded sheet written on four sides. The seal is of black wax stamped with a swan.

<sup>12</sup> Is this perhaps the house in Saint Cloud which burned in January 1728? It was in this fire that Racine's manuscripts perished.

du cœur. Pour luy, il n'y a qu'a le connoistre pour l'aimer, et je n'oublie-ray jamais l'obligation que je vous ay d'avoir l'honneur d'estre aupres de luy.

Rien ne manque plus comme vous sçavez a la disgrace de Mr le Cardinal de Bouillon.<sup>43</sup> Mr l'Ambassadeur<sup>44</sup> a esté luy demander son cordon bleu, et la demission de sa charge, qu'il n'a pas cependant voulu donner encore jusques a ce qu'il eut escrit luy mesme au Roy. Mr de Monaco ne s'aquita de cette commission que huit jours apres en avoir reçeu l'ordre. Il luy dit mesme en allant le luy porter, qu'il estoit encore tems d'obeir et que s'il vouloit partir, on ne pousseroit point les choses a la dernière extremité. On a deffendu a tous les François qui sont icy d'avoir aucun commerce avec luy. Le Cardinal Negroni<sup>45</sup> qui est un espece de fou, luy a, dit-on, offert cent mille écus d'argent comptant. C'est un homme qui passe sa vie enfermé dans une vigne a composer des Libelles et des satires contre la France, qui ne font pas, comme vous pouvez penser, un grand effet icy.

Le Pere le Conte<sup>46</sup> est arrivé a Rome. Il dit que les nouvelles qu'on a fait courrir de sa pretendue disgrace l'ont fort divertie en chemin et qu'il y avoit trois mois qu'il sollicitoit avec ardeur son voyage, qu'il espere devoir estre d'une grande utilité a la compagnie. Il se promet de faire des merveilles dans la Congregation du St. Office, et de lever tous les embarras ou l'on est icy au sujet de l'affaire de la Chine.<sup>47</sup>

Vous me surprenez fort, Monsieur, en me mandant que Mr Despreaux est devenu le protecteur des Financiers. *Quantum mutatus ab illo Ectore.*<sup>48</sup> Il faut que ce soient les disgraces dont ils ont esté menacés qui l'ayent attendry en leur faveur. Je vous prie cependant d'empescher qu'ils s'emparent seuls de luy et qu'ils luy fassent oublier ses anciens amis.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Emmanuel-Théodore de la Tour d'Auvergne (1643-1715). For details concerning his disgrace see Saint-Simon, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 82-83, 86, 99-106, 154-158, 196-198, 199.

<sup>44</sup> Louis Grimaldi, Prince de Monaco (1642-1701). He had been ambassador since 1698.

<sup>45</sup> Cardinal Negroni (1628-1713) was created cardinal in 1686. During the last of his life he lived in retirement in his "vigne de Montalte." (Moréri.)

<sup>46</sup> Louis Leconte, Jesuit astronomer and mathematician.

<sup>47</sup> Leconte had been a missionary in China in 1685, and on his return wrote his *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine* and a letter to the duc de Maine "Sur les Cérémonies de la Chine." In these works he praised the morality of the Chinese and maintained that they had known the true God for 2000 years. These books were denounced by his enemies and submitted to the judgment of Rome in 1700. Leconte demanded that he be allowed to defend them before a full Congregation, but permission was refused. His works were condemned by the Faculty of Paris on October 18, 1700.

<sup>48</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, II, 274.

<sup>49</sup> Boileau's intimacy with Pierre Le Verrier was apparently beginning about this time. Le Verrier, who was called "Le Traitant renouvelé des

Tout ce que vous me mandez de Mr l'abbé de la Forest<sup>50</sup> m'a fait un pla(isir)<sup>51</sup> infiny: c'est le meilleur amy que j'aye icy, et nous parlons souvent ensemble de belles Lettres et de Grec qu'il possede parfaitement bien, mais ce que j'estime encor plus que cela, c'est la bonté de son cœur; car c'est un des bons et des solides amis qu'on puisse avoir.

Le Pape<sup>52</sup> est plus mal que jamais. Il reçut hier le viatique, et il n'y a quasi plus d'esperance qu'il puisse en revenir. On parloit hier au soir d'un Consistoire pour les trois Cardinaux réservés in petto; mais il n'y en eut point et on ne croit pas mesme qu'il y en ait, par des raisons que vous sçavez mieux que moy.

Vous ne m'avez rien mandé de Mr de Torcy, cependant j'avois grande envie de sçavoir si je pourrois me flatter d'estre quelquefois dans son souvenir. Permettez moy de vous demander toujours une place dans le vostre, et faites moy la grace de croire qu'on ne peut estre avec plus d'attachement que je le suis votre tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur.<sup>53</sup>

*Address: A Monsieur Monsieur l'abbé Renaudot a la Porte de Richelieu  
A Paris.*

F. K. TURGEON

*Amherst College*

Grecs," was a financier who wanted to be a poet, wit, and *homme à bonnes fortunes*. He first met Boileau in 1688, but he could not get him to talk about his work until 1701, he says in the preface to his commentary on the *Satires* (*Les Satires de Boileau commentées par lui-même. Reproduction du commentaire inédit de Pierre Le Verrier*, Ed. F. Lachèvre). In Brossette's *Journal* (Bib. Nat. MS. Fonds Fr. 15275, fol. 37 v.) we read under the date of Oct. 22, 1702: "Nous avons diné chez Mr le Verrier qui est un homme d'esprit et de mérite, et pardessus cela, un fort riche financier. Il demeure dans la vieille rue du Temple, mais il doit bientôt changer de logement." Other guests present included the Marquis de Ségur, and "Mr Delacroix, homme d'affaires, ou financier très riche." One man who had been invited, a painter, did not appear but dined with Mme Racine instead. Boileau was thus becoming more and more intimate with the kind of man whom he had satirized frequently (see *Sat.*, I, 34-41; VIII, 181-210; IX, 159-164; *Epître* I, 137; V, 97-98). Later Le Verrier purchased Boileau's home in Auteuil, allowing him to continue to occupy it until his death. According to Louis Racine this arrangement was the source of a quarrel between the two men (see Mesnard, *op. cit.*, I, 359). There are numerous references to Le Verrier in Boileau's correspondence.

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps La Forest de Bourgon, the author of several works on the geography of the ancient world.

<sup>51</sup> The letters in parentheses are supplied by the editor, the MS. being torn in this place.

<sup>52</sup> Innocent XII died on Sept. 27, 1700.

<sup>53</sup> This letter is signed only with a flourish, but there can be no doubt that it was written by J.-B. Racine.

UNEDITED VOLTAIRE LETTERS TO COUNT DI  
POLCENIGO

Count Giorgio di Polcenigo e Fanna derives his name from two feudal castles, the castle of Polcenigo which his forebears had owned since the rule of Emperor Otto I, and the castle of Fanna built several centuries later by Lodovico di Polcenigo. The title of "count palatine" was bestowed upon the family in 1469.<sup>1</sup> Giorgio was born on December 3, 1715 at Cavasso in the province of Friuli, attended the University of Padua and spent some time travelling in France.<sup>2</sup> One of the early products of his pen, a work of erudition, *De' nobili, de' parlamenti e de' feudi: saggi del Conte Giorgio di Polcenigo e Fanna*, Venice, 1761, is characterized by F. di Manzano as "virile . . . useful and worthy of being consulted."<sup>3</sup> Shortly afterwards he married Angela Sambonifacio. Apparently a domestic atmosphere was just what he needed to stimulate his writing instincts, for the bulk of his literary output falls between 1764 and 1780, and includes *Il viaggio concineo* (1764), *La lettiera precipitata* (1764), *Il tempio della gloria* printed at Udine in 1765, *Fra Simone* (1767), *L'imeneo cusano* (1770) and *Il tempio d'imeneo*<sup>4</sup> printed at Udine in 1773, to mention only the longer and the most significant of his compositions. Most of these are mock heroic poems in which the author avowedly followed the traces of Lucian,<sup>5</sup> but, unfortunately, not one has had sufficient merit to be mentioned in the histories of literature. Professor Natali in his *Settecento*, for instance, finds a nook for many of the secondary writers of the period, but no place for Polcenigo. However, evidence of a considerable amount of local popularity is made clear by the existence of quite a number of manuscripts containing his poems, which are to be found in the Biblioteca Comunale Vincenzo Joppi at Udine, the provincial capital of Friuli.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. G. B. di Crollalanza. *Dizionario storico-blasonico . . . I*, Pisa, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the anonymous "Vita del Co. Giorgio di Polcenigo e Fana" (sic) ff. 2-3v of ms. 281 in the Biblioteca Comunale Vincenzo Joppi of Udine.

<sup>3</sup> *Cenni biografici dei letterati ed artisti friulani*. Udine, 1885.

<sup>4</sup> Reprinted *per nozze Menini Pizzati*. Udine, 1838.

<sup>5</sup> In the composition "Sotto il ritratto del Sig. Co. Giorgio di Polcenigo fatto da lui stesso" (Joppi ms. 281, f. 55v) compare the initial line: *Amò questi su l'orme di Luciano. . . .*

<sup>6</sup> See mss. 23, 117, 165, 166, 169-72, 281-84.

probably had personal contacts as well as epistolary exchanges with the best known literary figures of the epoch such as Saverio Bettinelli, Melchior Cesarotti, G. B. Roberti and Metastasio.<sup>7</sup> Voltaire he regrets that he has never met, but like many of the writers of his day he was eager to win the approval of the literary arbiter of the eighteenth century. The three unedited letters, in all likelihood the only ones addressed to him by the aging "sage of Ferney," refer, in fact, exclusively to works sent by him to Voltaire. Two of these are contained in their French text in ms. 282 (ff. 1364-65) of the Joppi Library, the first being an answer to a French letter written by Polcenigo and preserved in the same manuscript (f. 1363). I have not been able to find the French original of the third letter which exists in an Italian translation in the *Biblioteca Comunale* of Como, *op. cit.* The Como manuscript also bears the information that the pieces contained therein have been copied from another manuscript which once formed part of the "*Biblioteca Bartoliana, unita alla Vescovile di Udine.*" Perhaps some one will be more successful in locating it than I have been. A transcript of the letters in question follows.

A Monsieur Voltaire, gentilhomme de la chambre du roi.

Aux Délices par Genève.

J'ai l'honneur de vous présenter, Monsieur, mes essais sur les nobles, les parlemens et les fiefs. C'est un petit ouvrage, que j'ai fait à l'occasion de quelques erreurs, qui ont été débitées sur les nobles, les parlemens et les fiefs en général, et qui attaquaient directement la nature de ceux de Friul, c'est à dire, de ma patrie. Le suffrage du public m'a fait espérer, qu'il n'en seroit tout à fait indigne d'être présenté au plus grand génie du siècle. Mais c'est votre jugement sur lequel je comte le plus, et que je désire sans [...] le moindre ménagement. Pardonnez, Monsieur, si j'ose dérober quelques momens aux idées admirables qui vous occupent.

Je me fais un vrai plaisir de vous annoncer que votre nom est aussi connu, et aussi respecté dans nos contrées que je l'ai trouvé respecté et connu en France et ailleurs. Heureux, si je me pouvois entretenir avec vous, et vous admirer de près! Je vous supplie en attendant de vouloir

<sup>7</sup> Cf. for example, ms. 57 of the *Biblioteca Comunale di Como* entitled *Poesie del conte Giorgio Polcenigo. Copie di lettere a lui dirette da Saverio Bettinelli* (Mantova, 1778), *da Melchior Cesarotti* (Padova, 1778), *da G. B. Roberti* (Bassano, 1778), *dal Voltaire* (Ferney, 1763, 1766). A letter from Metastasio, *Lettera al Conte Giorgio di Polcenigo* was published by A. Caralti at Udine, 1878.

bien m'honorer de vos commissions et de croire que je suis avec toute considération et empressement.

de Fanne, 15 fév. 1763.

Votre très humble et très

obéissant serviteur,

Le comte de Polcenigo et Fanne.

A Monsieur le Comte de Polcenigo et Fanne.

Je vous suis doublement redevable; vous m'avez honoré d'un très beau présent, et vous m'avez instruit. J'étois déjà persuadé que les fiefs héréditaires avoient été connus dans toute l'Europe longtemps avant Charlemagne; et cela est bien naturel. Des Hérules, des Goths, des Huns, des Vandales qui s'en vont de compagnie et de chasse ne sont pas d'humeur à perdre l'apanage qu'ils ont fait des dépouilles. J'ai toujours été de cette opinion. Vous l'avez mise au plus grand jour. La science et la raison vous ont également servi. Je vous demande pardon, monsieur, de ne vous pas écrire de ma main, mais j'ai soissante et dix ans, je suis malade, et presque aveugle. Voici de trop fortes raisons. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec l'estime la plus respectueuse.

Des Délices au près de Genève,  
21 mars 1763.

Votre très humble et  
très obéissant serviteur,  
Voltaire, gentilhomme de  
la chambre du roi.

A Monsieur le Comte de Polcenigo et Fanne.

Au Château de Ferney par Genève,  
25 mars 1766.

Monsieur,

Je vous remercie de la seconde consolation que vous me donnez dans mes maux et dans ma viellesse. Je ne suis pas étonné que vous ayez si bien peint le palais de la gloire.<sup>a</sup> Vous avez imité Pline qui dans les *Lettres* fait une belle description de la maison de campagne. On peint toujours fort bien les endroits qu'on habite. Je reçois aussi un petit poème manuscrit de Mr. le Comte Nolini.<sup>b</sup> Je ne sais si mes yeux qui sont affoiblis

<sup>a</sup> This reference is, of course, to *Il tempio della gloria*.

<sup>b</sup> Voltaire has been wilfully misled, for Comte Nolini is none other than Polcenigo himself. The poem referred to is either *Il viaggio concineo* or *La lettiera precipitata*, which together with *Fra Simone*, veil their real authorship behind this pseudonym. Incidentally, Polcenigo used other *noms de plume*. E. g. in the *Sconciatura estemporanea di stanze semi-bernesche* he assumes the name of Annibale d'Hannover. Cf. ms. 171, *op. cit.* On the other hand, in *Il Caffè* (ms. 172, *op. cit.*) the authorship of which is not very clear, he chooses to call himself Angelica Janesi.

pouront le lire; j'y feroi mes efforts pour avoir un nouveau plaisir. Je vous prie de lui présenter mes remercimens et de recevoir les miens. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec toute la reconnaissance, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très  
obéissant serviteur,  
Voltaire

Dal Castello di Ferney-Ginevra,  
28 maggio 1766.

Approffitto dell'occasione dei paesani de' vostri contorni, fedeli portatori delle vostre lettere, per dirvi, o signore, che mi son fatto leggere il piccolo poema del Sig.or Conte Nolini, e gli altri in seguito che voi m'avete fatto l'onore d'inviarmi.

Io ho rimarcato in questi leggiadri componimenti eroicomici dei tratti graziosi ed originali. Vi dirò schiettamente su di essi in due parole che il Friuli non deve punto invidiare alla Senna ed al Tamigi i suoi Boileau e i suoi Pope. Io sarei felice di potervi assicurare a viva voce della rispettosa stima, colla quale ho l'onore di essere

Umil.mo e obbed.mo servo,  
Voltaire

The first two letters are rather non-committal and evasive about showering praises upon Polcenigo's brain-children, while the third seems too eulogistic to be taken seriously. Whether this attitude rankled in the Count's bosom, or whether a change of front came as the result of a possible religious conversion,<sup>10</sup> I do not know. At any rate, soon after Voltaire's death he wrote two uncomplimentary epitaphs in which the Frenchman is called a creature of the devil who in Hell has found a most worthy resting place. It will be of interest to reproduce these verses.

*Sulla tomba di Volter  
Epitaffio*

Se di trovar qui credi o passaggier  
L'aride ossa di Volter  
Tu t'inganni: va più abbasso,  
Che con l'alma le volse Satanasso.

(Ms. 282, f. 153, *op. cit.*).

<sup>10</sup> This may partly be deduced from the fact that two of his daughters, Teresa and Francesca, took the veil, one of them in 1781, and the other a year or so earlier. Cf. the compositions written by Polcenigo on these occasions, which are contained in ms. 282 of the Joppi Library.

*Per lo stesso soggetto*

D'Averno il ministro assai giulivo,  
 Ieri attendeva di Volter l'arrivo,  
 E di locarlo nel più nobil posto,  
 Avea Minosse cogli editti imposto:  
 Poichè diceva che in quell'ampio regno  
 Non v'era alcuno di Volter più degnò:  
 Tragico illustre, istorico imperfetto,  
 Filosofo ignorante, empio perfetto.

*Op. cit. f. 153.*

Quite amusing is a composition captioned *Per la morte di Russò*, which indirectly also concerns Voltaire.

Sdegnossi il gran Russò che pria di lui  
 Fatto avesse Volter ne' regni bui  
 Solenne ingresso, ed invocò la morte  
 Che tosto il conducesse a quelle porte.  
 Essa fu pronta, e su quell'ampie soglie  
 Satano istesso con Volter l'accoglie:  
 Venirgl'incontro quei, che i figli loro  
 Dell'*Emilio* educar dietro il lavoro,  
 E quei che sovra un pian novello e raro  
 La natura dei bruti invidiaro:  
 Ed in quel giorno si son fatti amici  
 Russò e Volter, che pria eran nemici.

*Op. cit. f. 154.*

JOSEPH G. FUCILLA

*Northwestern University*


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 DEUX LETTRES INÉDITES DE FONTENELLE À  
 NEWTON

La Société Royale de Londres (The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge) possède dans ses archives, sous la cote M. M. V. 47, 48, deux lettres de Fontenelle à Newton qui, selon toute apparence, sont demeurées inédites. Différentes de la lettre reproduite par David Brewster dans *Memoirs of sir Isaac Newton* (Edinburgh, 1855, 2 vol.; II, 518), elles ne figurent dans aucune édition des *Oeuvres complètes* de Fontenelle et n'ont jamais fait non plus, à notre connaissance, l'objet d'une publication séparée. Avec la gracieuse permission des autorités de la Société Royale,

nous les reproduisons ici comme une fiche additionnelle au dossier des relations intellectuelles franco-anglaises au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.

I. Monsieur.

Je suis chargé par l'Académie Royale des Sciences de vous remercier d'un Recueil de différentes pièces de vous, qu'elle a reçu des mains de M. le Chevalier de Louville.<sup>1</sup> je vous rends aussi en mon particulier tres humbles graces de votre nouvelle édition des Principes,<sup>2</sup> que j'ai reçue de M. Taylor.<sup>3</sup> je vous suis d'autant plus obligé de m'avoir honoré d'un si beau présent, que je n'avois aucun droit de m'y attendre. je ne le pouvois mériter tout au plus que par l'admiration que j'ai pour tous vos ouvrages, mais elle m'est commune avec tout ce qu'il y a de gens au monde, qui ont quelque teinture de géométrie, et il s'en faut même beaucoup que je sois assés habile pour vous admirer comme il faudroit. j'espère que ma reconnaissance suppléera à tout, et je vous supplie d'être bien persuadé que je suis avec une vénération singulière,

Monsieur,

votre très humble et très  
obéissant serviteur

fontenelle

de Paris ce 9 juin 1714

sec. perp. de l'Ac. Roy. des Sc.

II. Monsieur

L'Académie Royale des Sciences m'a chargé de vous remercier très humblement de la traduction françoise de votre Optique,<sup>4</sup> qu'elle reçut hier par M. Varignon,<sup>5</sup> vous savés ce que toute l'Europe savante pense d'un ouvrage

<sup>1</sup> Jacques Eugène d'Allonville, chevalier de Louville (1671-1732), connu pour ses travaux astronomiques, membre de l'Académie des Sciences (1714), entretenait, depuis la paix d'Utrecht, des relations épistolaires avec plusieurs savants anglais, en particulier Hans Sloane. Il fut élu membre de la Société Royale de Londres, le 9 juin 1715, pendant le séjour qu'il fit en Angleterre pour y observer une éclipse solaire.

<sup>2</sup> La seconde édition, "auctior et emendatior," des *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*, publiée par Roger Cotes à Cambridge en 1713, et réimprimée à Amsterdam en 1714.

<sup>3</sup> Brook Taylor (1685-1731), mathématicien anglais, disciple de Newton, avait été mis en rapports avec l'Académie des Sciences par l'intermédiaire de son ami français, Remond de Monmort.

<sup>4</sup> La traduction de Coste, publiée d'abord à Amsterdam (P. Humbert, 2 vol. in-12) en 1720, puis rééditée sous une forme "beaucoup plus correcte que la première" à Paris en 1722 (Montalant, in-4°).

<sup>5</sup> Le célèbre mathématicien Pierre Varignon (1654-1722), membre de l'Académie des Sciences depuis 1688, avait été élu membre de la Société Royale de Londres le 29 juillet 1714.

si original, si ingénieux, si digne de vous, mais l'Académie, qui vous conte pour un de ses membres,<sup>6</sup> en sent le mérite, et le loue avec un intérêt plus particulier. je suis

Monsieur  
votre très humble et très  
obéissant serviteur  
fontenelle  
sec. perp. de l'Ac. Roy. des Sc.

Trouvés bon, Monsieur, qu'aux remerciements de l'Academie, je joigne aussi les miens pour l'exemplaire que j'ai reçu de votre part. je ne puis assés vous exprimer combien je suis sensible à l'honneur que me fait un homme tel que vous, lorsqu'il se souvient de moi d'une manière si obligante. quand vous ne feriez que savoir mon nom j'en serois très glorieux, et conterois pour un extreme bonheur qu'il eust été jusqu'à vous. j'ai été aussi infiniment touché de l'avoir trouvé dans la préface de M. Coste;<sup>7</sup> il faudra donc qu'on le connoisse, puisqu'il est dans un ouvrage du grand M. Newton. j'en ai une très vive reconnaissance pour M. Coste, qui ne pouvoit jamais me faire un plus grand honneur, mais je sens aussi que je vous doi beaucoup, Monsieur, de ce que vous avés eu la bonté d'y consentir.

G. BONNO

*The University of California*

### DRYDEN'S USE OF SCUDÉRY'S *ALMAHIDE*

Prefacing his fine edition of Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada*<sup>1</sup> with a scathing attack on Langbaine's discussion of Scudéry's<sup>2</sup> *Almahide* (1660-3) as a source of Dryden's play,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Montague Summers quotes at length from Part III, Book III, of the English translation by J. Phillips.<sup>4</sup> Apparently he did not realize that this portion of the romance is not Scudéry's at all but that it is the

<sup>6</sup> Newton avait été le premier associé étranger élu par l'Académie des Sciences au moment de sa réorganisation en 1699.

<sup>7</sup> Dans sa préface Coste loue la clarté et l'agrément des ouvrages de Fontenelle.

<sup>1</sup> Dryden, *the Dramatic Works*, III, 9, the Nonesuch Press, London, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> My reasons for attributing *Almahide* to Scudéry rather than to his sister are stated in my *Georges de Scudéry's Almahide*, now in press, to be published by the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore.

<sup>3</sup> *An Account of English Dramatick Poets*, Oxford, 1691, pp. 157 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Almahide or the Captive Queen*, London, 1677.

creation of Phillips himself. *Almahide* was left unfinished by Scudéry; evidently the translator added an ending for the purpose of satisfying English readers and in order that his labors in translating it might not go unrewarded because of the psychological disadvantage of offering an unfinished work to the public. Summers does not take into consideration the fact that Dryden's play, produced in 1670-71, antedates the Phillips translation. Dryden, therefore, must have made use of the French original in his minor borrowings, for, so far as I know, there was no translation earlier than Phillips's. This disregard of chronology leads Summers to the error of stating that "from *Almahide*, . . . Dryden has borrowed the details of the recognition of Almanzor as his son by the Duke of Arcos, when they are about to meet in mortal fray" (p. 6). As the incident occurs only in Phillips's addition, it would seem to me that the translator of *Almahide* is here indebted to Dryden. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that both in Phillips and Dryden (p. 101), Boabdil makes a last effort to save his tottering throne by commanding Almahide to send for her lover and beseech him to cast his lot with the king against his enemies. In Phillips the Sultana goes to her lover's camp in person; in Dryden she sends a messenger for him. The endings of both play and novel are essentially the same: the king is killed in battle; Almahide becomes a Christian and will wed her lover. For these two points Dryden is apparently indebted to *Las Guerras civiles de Granada* of Pérez de Hita.

As for the criticisms Summers makes of Langbaine's work, I find that most of those he includes are just. However, I have found one minor point in his criticism which is not justified. After referring to Dryden's lines in the opening act of Part I in which the latter describes the factions in the city of Granada, he quotes from Langbaine: "The next four Lines spoken by the King is (sic) taken from Mussa's advice in *Almahide*, p. 6." He then comments that "This reference is simply meaningless." The lines to which he is apparently referring are the following:

Draw up behind the *Vivarambla* place;  
Double my guards, these factions I will face;  
And try if all the fury they can bring  
Be proof against the presence of their King.

I find in the original the following advice given by Moussa to Boaudilin:

Mon sens est donc, que V. M. sorte auecque ses Gardes: & qu'elle aille faire tomber les Armes des mains à ces Furieux, par la crainte respectueuse, que donne à des Sujets reuoltez, la presence de leur Souuerain.<sup>5</sup>

Again attacking Langbaine's evidence that the episode of Ozmyn and Benzayda is based on Mlle de Scudéry's *Ibrahim*, Summers says:

The flight of Ozmyn and Benzayda is certainly not borrowed from Mlle de Scudéry's *Ibrahim*, but on the other hand Dryden used to very good purpose and vastly improved certain incidents in "The Sequel of the History of Osman and Alibech" (*Ibrahim*, translated by Henry Cogan, London, folio, 1652, pp. 194-205), Part IV, Book 4.<sup>6</sup>

In regard to this statement, it should be pointed out that Scudéry made use of this episode in his play *Axiane* and yet again in the *Almahide*. In the latter work it appears as the intercalated *histoire* of Abdalla and Fatime (vi, 2581 f.). Therefore, if Dryden made use of *Almahide* at all, there would have been no need for him to have gone to *Ibrahim* for his inspiration since the episode is included in *Almahide*.

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#### A PORTUGUESE ADAPTATION OF LA CALPRENÈDE'S FARAMOND

The influence of La Calprènede's *Faramond* reached not only into England, Holland, Germany, and Italy,<sup>1</sup> but also into Portugal, where the love story of Rosemonde, Queen of the Cimbrians, and Faramond, reputed founder of the French monarchy, is repeated in the play, *A Constancia tudo vence*, Lisboa, Dominigos Gonsalves, 1786. The debt of this anonymous play to the French novel, in its turn indebted to Corneille's *Cid*, is apparent. Many of the scenes of the play have parallels in the *Cid*, by circumstance, and in *Faramond*, by design. The similarity in dramatic effect and

<sup>5</sup> *Almahide*, I, 36.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Spire Pitou, Jr., *La Calprènède's Faramond*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. 168-172.

in plot is clearly seen in the basic situations of all three works. The borrowings in the evolved action are striking. There is no doubt as to the anonymous Portuguese playwright's familiarity with the French novel.<sup>2</sup> Proof is furnished as early as the opening scenes of the play when it is revealed that Faramundo has slain Rozimunda's brother, Esveno. She swears vengeance. Faramundo, entering the Cimbrian capital as an ally of the conquering Ger-nando, falls in love with Rozimunda and thereby becomes Ger-nando's rival. Faramundo offers himself as a sacrifice to the shades of the heroine's brother. She rejects his offer. In like manner, La Calprenède portrays Faramond as the ally of Gondioch in the campaign against the Cimbrians. After reaching the capital of the invaded nation, the leader of the Franks falls in love with Rosemonde, the object of Gondioch's affections. Neither author troubles to invent a name for the city where the enamourment takes place. The Portuguese dramatist changes the name of the rival. A more essential difference lies in the fact that Faramundo has killed only the brother of Rozimunda, whereas Faramond is indirectly responsible for the death of her father as well. Gustavo, the father, is alive throughout the play and contributes to many of the important scenes. After establishing the triangle and the accompanying complications, the dramatist develops the love story of Clotilde, sister of Faramundo, and Adolfo, brother of Rozimunda (1, 2). In the French version, Viridomare, whose brother was killed by Faramond, falls in love with Polixene, sister of Faramond. The dramatist has achieved a greater unity by making the suitor of Faramundo's sister the brother of the slain Esveno. This unification and the changing of the names are the only departures from the original scheme of the novel.<sup>3</sup> The scene in which Gustavo denounces his son for his unfaithfulness is found in the novel.<sup>4</sup> Ataulphe is a comparatively unimportant figure in La Calprenède's story, whereas Adolfo is heir to the Cimbrian throne and the suitor of Faramundo's sister in the play.<sup>5</sup> As in the novel, the heroine is offered by her father as a prize to the man who brings in the head of Faramond. Torn between love and filial duty, she is re-

<sup>2</sup> Since the influence of the *Cid* on *Faramond* has already been discussed, it is necessary to indicate only those similarities which exist between the novel and the later play. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 63-66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> 1, 4; *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

luctant either to disobey her father or to renounce her love. Chimène or Rosemonde might well have offered the following lament:

Entra a honra, e a piedade,  
que a sua dor merece,  
meu coração afflito desfalece;  
eu nao posso vingar-me, nem  
me atravo;  
perdoar-lhe nao devo.  
Que farei? Que rezolvo! <sup>6</sup>

Faramundo confronts her in her own capital. She does as her French counterparts did before her and dismisses her hero with the exhortation to defend his life against her rivals and her father's hostility:

Teus reinos vai guardar, vai defendar-te,  
do odio de Gustavo, e dos furores  
dos teuo competidores (II, 4).

After establishing the villainy of Theobalde, captain of the Cimbrian guards in the play and the slain brother of Rosemonde in the novel, by revealing his plot to kidnap the heroine with the complicity of Gernando, her self-appointed champion, the solution to all difficulties is presented. In the novel, Briomer substitutes his own son for the Cimbrian *dauphin*. Thus, Faramond kills the son of Briomer. The blood-brother of Rosemonde is not the slain Theobalde but Balamir.<sup>7</sup> In the play, Teobalde discloses that the slain Esveno was not the brother of Rozimunda but his own son. Childerico, cast as the *confidente* of Rozimunda, is her real brother. Teobalde had made the substitution many years previous when Gustavo was away at the wars (III, 3). The play, like the novel, closes on a happy note. The reconciliation in the stage version, however, is more complete, for Faramundo pardons Theobaldo and Gernando as the curtain drops.

SPIRE PITOU, JR.

*College of Mount Saint Vincent*

<sup>6</sup> I, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 77-8.

## LES LIMBES

The changes in title which Baudelaire's volume of poems underwent before its publication as *Les Fleurs du Mal* are well known. In 1846 *Les Lesbiennes* is announced, "pour paraître prochainement." But in 1848 the *Echo des Marchands de vin* promises for publication in the following year "Les Limbes, poésies par Charles Baudelaire," and in 1850 and 1851 extracts "des Limbes" are published. There seems good reason to think that this would have been the definitive title, had it not been for the *contretemps* indicated by M. Crépet in his edition of the *Fleurs du Mal*: the publication, announced in the *Bibliographie de la France* in May, 1852, of "Les Limbes, poésies intimes de Georges Durand, recueillies et publiées par son ami Th. Véron, in-8°." Baudelaire had of necessity to find another title for his volume, and, Asselineau tells us, discussed the question lengthily with his friends before deciding at last on Hyppolite Babou's suggestion, *Les Fleurs du Mal*.

Critics, sometimes severe for this final title, have given little regret, and less curiosity, to its ill-fated predecessor. M. Crépet says, for example: "[Le titre] des *Limbes*, bien qu'un peu exsangue, même si on lui attribue ici sa valeur dantesque, lui plaisait probablement et pour l'atmosphère religieuse qu'il évoque, et pour ce qu'il renferme d'énigmatique."<sup>1</sup> But the title is not, I believe, merely a vague allusion. Let us turn to Balzac's *Chef-d'œuvre inconnu*, published in 1831, and reprinted, with the addition of important passages on the theory of painting, in 1837. The close parallel between these passages and certain ideas of Delacroix has been pointed out,<sup>2</sup> and this parallel would hardly fail to attract the special notice of Baudelaire, an enthusiastic reader of Balzac. In the *Chef-d'œuvre inconnu* the old painter, Frenhofer, pronounces these words: "Oh ! pour voir un moment, une seule fois, la nature divine, complète, l'idéal enfin, je donnerais toute ma fortune, mais j'irais te chercher dans tes limbes, beauté céleste ! Comme Orphée, je descendrais dans l'enfer de l'art pour en ramener la vie."<sup>3</sup> Here are Baudelaire's *Limbes*. Not merely the word—that he

<sup>1</sup> *Les Fleurs du Mal, Lés Epaves*, Paris, Conard, 1922, pp. 301-302.

<sup>2</sup> See Fosca, F., "Les artistes dans les romans de Balzac," *Revue critique*, mars 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Bouteron et Longnon, *Oeuvres complètes de Honoré de Balzac*, Paris, Conard, xxviii (1925), 20.

might have found in a hundred places—but the *motif* of the volume, indicated, less happily perhaps, by the definitive *Fleurs du Mal*.

The Balzac passage is at most a point of departure; it is far from the tragic intensity of the *Hymne à la Beauté*, with its "Que tu viennes du ciel ou de l'enfer, qu'importe, O Beauté!" Frenhofer's Beauty is, like Eurydice, a stranger in Hades; Baudelaire's is a familiar there. But Balzac's passage can hardly have failed to catch Baudelaire's attention, particularly if he read it when he was in search of a title. Had circumstances not obliged him to change his title, this passage might well have served as epigraph to *Les Limbes*.

Baudelaire's borrowings in his early years were numerous and his debt to Balzac, as has been pointed out more than once in recent years, is far from negligible. The mere addition of one more possible item to this account is in itself of no great significance; what does seem to me interesting is the evidence that *Les Limbes* was not a somewhat vague and conventional title, but one which expressed for Baudelaire, quite as clearly as the not too felicitous *Fleurs du Mal*, the essence of his poetry.

MARGARET GILMAN

Bryn Mawr College

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#### THE COURTIERS IN *HAMLET* AND *THE WILD DUCK*

In the fifth chapter of the fifth book of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, the hero is discussing with Serlo, the stage manager, their proposed production of *Hamlet*. Since the number of the members of the troupe is quite limited, the casting of the characters presents considerable difficulty. Serlo proposes that the rôles of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern be combined into one, because in this way it would be very simple to save one actor.<sup>1</sup> Goethe lets Wilhelm continue as follows:

<sup>1</sup>This had been done by the actor who served as Goethe's model for Serlo, Friedrich Ludwig Schröder (1744-1816), who is considered by many critics to have been Germany's greatest actor. He was the first to present *Hamlet* on the German stage (1776) and his performances aroused an enormous amount of interest. His version of Hamlet is reprinted in Alexander von Weilen, *Der erste deutsche Bühnen-Hamlet*, Wien, 1914.

Gott bewahre mich vor solchen Verkürzungen, die zugleich Sinn und Wirkung aufheben, versetzte Wilhelm. Das, was diese beiden Menschen sind und tun, kann nicht durch einen vorgestellt werden. In solchen Kleinigkeiten zeigt sich Shakespeares Grösse. Dieses leise Auftreten, dieses Schmiegen und Biegen, dies Jasagen, Streicheln und Schmeicheln, diese Behendigkeit, dieses Schwänzeln, diese Allheit und Leerheit, diese rechtliche Schurkerei, diese Unfähigkeit, wie kann sie durch einen Menschen ausgedrückt werden? Es sollten ihrer wenigstens ein Dutzend sein, wenn man sie haben könnte; denn sie sind bloss in Gesellschaft etwas, sie sind die Gesellschaft, und Shakespeare war sehr bescheiden und weise, dass er nur zwei solche Repräsentanten auftreten liess. Überdies brauche ich sie in meiner Bearbeitung als ein Paar, das mit dem einen, guten, trefflichen Horatio kontrastiert.

When, in 1884, Ibsen published his *Wild Duck*, he had to provide similarly fawning courtiers. They are described as being comparable to the vintages of various years by Madame Soerby, as she takes a dig at them by saying, chamberlains too require a great deal of sun (of court favor). They flatter their hosts; they are, as the phrase has it, "yes-men"; they are eager to fall in with every current convention; they laugh at their superiors' jokes, even those at their own expense; while toward their inferiors they show themselves to be mean souls. Whereas Ibsen in his social plays is extremely economical regarding the number of characters—*Ghosts* has five characters, *Rosmersholm* has six, *The Master Builder* has seven, *Hedda Gabler* has seven—for this rôle of courtier he selects nine characters; the reason he chose exactly this number was that he also wanted to have thirteen at table. The chamberlains are all very much alike, representing "Society," but three of them are individualized in the spirit of broad caricature. The effect of the flabby gentleman, the bald gentleman, the short-sighted gentleman, and the six other chamberlains is to present an extremely forcible contrast to young Gregers Werle, the unbending, though misguided idealist.

It is well known that Ibsen was familiar with Goethe's works.<sup>2</sup> Naturally enough, like many other authors, Ibsen was loath to

<sup>2</sup> For Ibsen's reading and references to Goethe, cf. Halvdan Koht, "Ibsen as a Norwegian," *The Nineteenth Century*, February, 1910; John Paulsen, *Erinnerungen an Henrik Ibsen*, Berlin, 1907, p. 66; Letter to Georg Brandes of February 11, 1895—not to mention the famous *Faust* quotation in the fourth act of *Peer Gynt* and other allusions.

acknowledge any "influence." Whether or not he was aware of this passage, it is evident that he conforms to it, and as Goethe says, in such a minor point shows his greatness as a dramatist.

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### ZU MORGENSTERN'S "STEINOCHS"<sup>1</sup>

Dieses Gedicht ist nicht ohne Kommentar verständlich. Es lautet:

Der Steinochs schüttelt stumm sein Haupt,  
dass jeder seine Kraft ihm glaubt.  
Er spießt dich plötzlich auf sein Horn  
und bohrt von hinten dich bis vorn. Weh!

Der Steinochs lebt von Berg zu Berg,  
vor ihm wird, was da wandelt, Zwerp.  
Er nährt sich meist—and das ist neu—  
von menschlicher Gehirne Heu. Weh!

Der Steinochs ist kein Tier, das stirbt,  
dieweil sein Fleisch niemals verdirbt.  
Denn wir sind Staub, doch er ist Stein!  
Du möchtest wohl auch Steinochs sein? He?

Leo Spitzer<sup>2</sup> sucht nach Erklärungen für "Von Berg zu Berg," "menschlicher Gehirne Heu" und "kein Tier, das stirbt, . . . denn . . . er ist Stein," ohne dass er eine befriedigende Lösung findet. Obwohl hier sicher die Idee des Ewigen, von der Entwicklung Unberührten, mitspielt, so glaube ich doch, dass Morgenstern hier zunächst nicht eine philosophische Idee vorschwebte, sondern, dass er an einen ganz bestimmten Steinochs dachte, nämlich an den, der über dem Eingang zu den Fleischhallen in Nürnberg angebracht ist. Diese Figur, deren Hörner unverhältnismässig gross und drohend sind, ist in der ersten Strophe ausgezeichnet beschrieben. "Von Berg zu Berg" wird dann eine harmlose Anspielung auf Nürnberg, und Spitzers<sup>2</sup> Vergleich mit Steinbock wird unnötig.

<sup>1</sup> Christian Morgenstern, *Alle Galgenlieder*, Verlag Bruno Cassirer, Berlin, 1932. Seite 49.

<sup>2</sup> Sperber und Spitzer, *Motiv und Wort*, O. R. Reisland, Leipzig, 1918. Seite 70.

Für die weitere Erklärung müssen wir die beiden Hexameter betrachten, die unter der Figur stehen:

Omnia habent ortus suaque incrementa sed ecce  
quem cernis nunquam bos fuit hic vitulus.

Ich möchte sie folgendermassen übersetzen:

Alle tragen in sich Ursprung und Wachstum, ich aber,  
den du als Ochsen hier siehst, niemals war ich ein Kalb.

Damit ist die letzte Strophe ohne weiteres erklärt. Nun bleibt noch das "Heu der menschlichen Gehirne." Morgenstern dürfte bemerkt haben, dass der Steinochs seine sehr grosse Popularität bei der Bevölkerung vielen mehr oder weniger geistvollen Anspielungen und Witzen verdankt, die in der Hauptsache auf den Hexametern beruhen. (z. B. Welcher Ochse war nie ein Kalb? Der Ochse auf der Fleischbrücke!)

Vielelleicht gibt diese zwanglose Erklärung auch für andere, ähnliche Gedichte Morgensterns einen Schlüssel.

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### NEW FACTS REGARDING OWEN FELTHAM

Hitherto it has not been known just when Owen Feltham died—or where. Records of litigation concerning his estate disclose the fact that he died on February 23, 1667/8, at the London house of the Countess Dowager of Thomond in the Strand.<sup>1</sup> With a characteristic piety and modesty Feltham had specified in his will:

For my Body where it shall fall to Earth I am Content that in that Parish there the Trunke bee laid; the sooner after my Decease the better in the Church or any where, Where my Executor pleases, With as little Ceremony as Decently may bee. When the Jewell is gone wee use not to be solicitous about the Case.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C6/187/115, Thomond *vs.* Feltham and Vyner; C5/480/41, Feltham *vs.* Hurt *et al.* These documents, together with C5/480/42, Feltham *vs.* Thomond, corroborate the belief that in the course of service as steward in the Thomond household Feltham became at least reasonably wealthy.

<sup>2</sup> P. C. C., 46 Hene. Perhaps it is worth while to note that Feltham's will was written in his own hand.

Feltham's wishes were fulfilled. The registers of St. Martin's in the Fields, the parish in which Feltham died, disclose the fact that he was buried there on February 24th.

The necessities of legal controversy are likely to preclude any generous or even just view of the persons involved. It is a striking fact, however, that in the documents concerning Feltham which have come to my attention he is spoken of invariably with high respect and even affection. The Countess Dowager of Thomond declares that she believes Feltham "was just and ffaithfull . . . in all . . . the affaires this defendt intrusted him w<sup>th</sup> and shall still soe Continue her beleife till shee finds very good reason to the Contrary w<sup>ch</sup> shee hopes shee never shall."<sup>3</sup> Of a letter bearing on the settlement of the Thomond property at Great Billing, Feltham's nephew and namesake observes that "this Deft<sup>s</sup> sayd deceased Unkle was reputed to be and this Defend<sup>t</sup> doth beleive he was a man of that Integrity that he would not haue giuen such a thinge under his hand unlesse it had been soe."<sup>4</sup> In connection with a minor tangle growing out of the settlement of Feltham's own estate, John and Anne Ward testify that they "had & doth reteyne very good thoughts of and for the said owen feltham Deed."<sup>5</sup> Still further evidence of the trust and esteem accorded to Feltham is revealed in the will of Barnaby, 6th Earl of Thomond.<sup>6</sup> Among the "small guifts answereable to my present Condicon which had beene greater accordinge to my affection had my losses and sufferinges in Ireland beene lesse," he gives "to Owen ffeltham ffiftye pounds yearelie and dureing his life or Twoe hundred and fiftye pounds in money . . . besides what Leases [he has] of mine in Ireland." Plainly, those who knew Feltham well echoed spontaneously the sentiments of Thomas Randolph:

Thy life had been  
Pattern enough, had it of all been seen,  
Without a book.<sup>7</sup>

Feltham devoted the greater part of his life to the service of the O'Briens. In 1669, Henry, 7th Earl of Thomond, declared that Feltham had been "about forty yeares attendant in y<sup>e</sup> family."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> C5/480/42.

<sup>5</sup> C5/480/41.

<sup>4</sup> C6/184/117, Thomond *vs.* Feltham.

<sup>6</sup> P. C. C., 181 Wootton.

<sup>7</sup> "To Master Feltham, on his book of Resolves," *Poetical and Dramatic Works*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (London, 1875), II, 574.

<sup>8</sup> C6/40/98, Thomond *vs.* Thomond *et al.*

## CHAPMAN'S FORTUNE WITH WINGED HANDS 201

It would seem that he assumed his position with the O'Briens about the time of his father's death in March, 1632.<sup>9</sup> In any case it is plain that, since he was born, probably, in 1602, virtually his entire maturity was spent with the O'Briens. Such an extended period of loyal stewardship goes far toward explaining the pronouncedly Royalist strain in his writings.

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## CHAPMAN'S FORTUNE WITH WINGED HANDS: SUPPLEMENTARY

In *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1937, pp. 190-2, appeared a note on *Chapman's Fortune with Winged Hands*. To the passages there quoted may be added the following from the *Alexandreis* of Gualterus de Castellione (Walter of Châtillon):

Vestri [or nostri] fortunam pedibus dixerunt carentem  
Pennatasque manus et habentem brachia pingunt.  
Ergo manus si forte tibi porrexerit, alas  
Corripe, ne rapidis, quando volet, avolet alis

(Book 8, Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 209, 549D-550A, Paris, 1855).

The belief that wing-feathers grew on the hands and arms of the Scythian Fortune is, then, as old as the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The date is usually given as 1631, but his son Robert carefully specifies March—i. e., March 1631/32 (C2 Charles I., F10/41, Feltham *vs.* Feltham). Feltham's father and paternal grandfather, both named Thomas, were prosperous small landowners of Suffolk (P. C. C., 64 Audley; P. C. C., 24 Sainberie; C2 James I., F4/47, Feltham *vs.* Codd *et al.*). Feltham's brother Robert was an attorney of the Court of Chancery and in later years a resident of Sculthorpe, Norfolk (C2 Charles I., F5/10, Feltham *vs.* Joslyn; *ibid.*, F34/49, Feltham *vs.* Peck *et al.*; C10/484/69, Feltham *vs.* Bright *et al.*). Apparently Feltham's second brother, Thomas, was a wealthy vintner of Norwich (C10/51/64, Feltham *vs.* Elliott *et al.*; C8/153/24, Coupledicke *vs.* Feltham *et al.*; C2 Charles I., F10/41).

<sup>1</sup> For the popularity and influence of the *Alexandreis* see Francis P. Magoun, *The Gests of King Alexander of Macedon*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 22; Max Manilius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3.922 ff.

## REVIEWS

*Walt Whitman as a Critic of Literature.* By MAURICE O. JOHNSON. University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature and Criticism, no. 16. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1938. Pp. 73.

*Emerson's Use of the Bible.* By HARRIET RODGERS ZINK. University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism, no. 14. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1935. Pp. 75.

*The Beginnings of the Professional Theatre in Texas.* By EDWARD G. FLETCHER. University of Texas Bulletin, no. 3621. Austin: University of Texas, 1936. Pp. 55.

*Chinese Themes in American Verse.* By WILLIAM ROBERT NORTH. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1937. Pp. 175.

*Scandinavian Themes in American Fiction.* By GEORGE LEROY WHITE, JR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1937. Pp. 231.

*The Spirit of America as Interpreted in the Works of Charles Sealsfield.* By WILLIAM PAUL DALLMANN. St. Louis: Washington University, 1935. Pp. 125.

*Herman Melville's Gedankengut: Eine Kritische Untersuchung seiner weltanschaulichen Grundideen.* Von K. H. SUNDERMANN. Berlin: Arthur Collignon, 1937. Pp. 226. RM. 6.

The first two works on the present list are master's essays of unusual competence, directed by Professor Louise Pound. Mr. Johnson's study of Whitman as a critic begins with selections from the poet's more trenchant observations on a variety of authors and then concentrates on his reactions to Shakespeare, Tennyson, Scott, Dickens, Carlyle, Burns, Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, and Whittier. The conclusion is that Whitman looked for democratic purpose in literature as well as artistic excellence. Miss Zink's essay on Emerson's use of the Bible gathers together almost all of the available material on its subject and offers in Chapter IV an interesting study of Emerson's technique of paraphrasing. The whole work is the first extensive treatment of the subject and is, accordingly, of more value to the specialist than good masters' essays are apt to be.

Professor Fletcher has given in his little pamphlet an account of the first theatrical performances in English within the boundaries of Texas. The first play was performed in the village of Houston in June, 1838, by actors who had previously been playing in Mobile or New Orleans. The picture of histrionic attempts up to 1841 is pieced in from incomplete data, but is drawn by an experienced hand. A couple of playbills, a few newspaper notices, a list of people connected with the companies in Houston, a partial list of plays presented, and a few specimens of verse inspired by the Texas Thespians are included as appendices. The whole is a splendid example of antiquarian labor—the kind of study which is vitally necessary if broader surveys of cultural interests in the States are ever to be properly written.

*Chinese Themes in American Verse* is a glaring example of a doctoral dissertation without sufficient material to carry its author beyond collecting details which remain merely details. "Commerce, Shipping, and Commodities" occupy ten pages, while "Chinese Thought, Literature, and Religion," all grouped together, run to seventeen all told. The author is, quite properly, interested in the development of realism as the nineteenth century progressed, but his observations on even such an important topic are distressingly unconvincing. If the study had been extended beyond 1900 perhaps the more abundant material would have spared Dr. North the pains of noting that in American verse "Such Chinese varieties as Souchong, Imperial, and gunpowder are mentioned in addition to those already named."

Dr. White's opus on Scandinavian themes in our fiction has profited by Professor A. H. Quinn's extensive knowledge of American novels. His researches, however, have turned up no neglected masterpieces; and the study concentrates, so far as there is any concentration, on the writings of Ottalie A. Liljencrantz, O. E. Rölvaag, Hjalmar H. Boyesen, Willa Cather, and Martha Osteno. The method of the study shifts from time to time, and the manner of treatment of even the more significant figures varies considerably. A number of minor works, especially of the twentieth century, are analyzed from the point of view of plot; but no essentially important conclusions are drawn from the perusal of a wide assortment of stories and novels which bear upon the topics: "The Scandinavian Settlement," "The Individual Scandinavian," and "The Scandinavian and the Foreign Scene." Perhaps the chief value in the dissertation other than the outline of American interest in the Scandinavian lies in its presentation of the literary career of Boyesen.

Dr. Dallmann's purpose in adding his doctoral researches to the studies of Sealsfield already existing was to ferret out from the novels, travel books and letters of the German-American fiction-writer whatever opinions were expressed about the United States,

its institutions, or its characteristics. Passing from a consideration of Sealsfield's opinions concerning freedom in America, he goes on to popular sovereignty, the problems presented by the Indians, the Negroes and the Unitarians, the lack of intellectual or cultural interest on the part of the inhabitants, and other such aspects of American civilization as impressed the novelist in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Since Sealsfield was comparatively a realist this job of rounding up his observations and opinions is of considerable value to the social historian. Occasionally the reports of other observers, like Mrs. Trollope and Francis Lieber, are included by way of comparison, and frequently the opinions of present-day historians are used to substantiate the validity of Sealsfield's remarks. No especial critical insight upon Dr. Dallmann's part is evident, and the weakest portion of his work, as a result, is a brief chapter on the literary and historical significance of Sealsfield; but the study in general is a good apprentice opus—direct, clear, and well-arranged.

Of the several works included in the present review by far the most important to the student of American letters is Dr. K. H. Sundermann's treatise on Melville's ideas. The author of *Moby-Dick* wished to be remembered as a more important person than "a man who lived among the cannibals." Indeed, his passion for metaphysical discussion may be said to have wrecked his career as a novelist. As a consequence the study of his ideas is of much greater significance than might ordinarily seem to be the case with a novelist of the Romantic school. But the difficulties of extricating from the speeches of characters the true sentiments of their creator are tremendous. Moreover, Dr. Sundermann does not spare himself in ranging the whole gamut of Melville's opinions, from literary theory, political philosophy, and social ethics, to metaphysics and religion.

By all odds the most important part of this work is the discussion of Melville's religion, which is well considered and complete. As a result of Dr. Sundermann's recognition of the central place of religious views in the novelist's store of ideas he gives us for the first time in print a complete analysis of *Clarel*, a work which with *Mardi* and *Moby-Dick* appears to be the chief pabulum for the investigation of Melville's ideas. The section on the philosophical elements is of less consequence largely because Melville was no philosopher, but, if the details are disappointing, and very occasionally inaccurate, the conclusions drawn from them are wise and illuminating. Perhaps Melville's equipment as a critical, political, or economic theorist was even less than his endowment as a philosopher, and so the analysis of the statements in his novels in these fields is perforce even less satisfying. A special section on Melville and German philosophy, which might be considered to have weight because of Dr. Sundermann's background, is again pro-

ductive of a barren yield. Melville really had little acquaintance with the Germans.

Other than the limitations natural to any attempt to extract philosophy from fiction—even philosophical fiction—the chief weakness of this study is its dependence upon the frail foundations of Melville scholarship erected by Raymond Weaver and especially Lewis Mumford. Dr. Sundermann avoids the pseudo-Freudian interpretations of these two biographers but has not altogether escaped their proneness to consider Melville's novels primarily as autobiography. Nevertheless, this is a very valuable work—the most scholarly volume on Melville now in print.

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*The Tragedy of Hamlet: a Critical Edition of the Second Quarto, 1604.* By THOMAS MARC PARROTT and HARDIN CRAIG. Princeton University Press, 1938. Pp. x + 250. \$3.50.

To offer "the intelligent reader a better idea of what Shakespeare wrote than the badly printed Q. 2 with its errors, misunderstandings, and omissions" is the avowed purpose of Professor Parrott and Professor Craig in this "critical edition of the genuine text." Believing, with ample justification, that "Q. 2 better than any other version represents *Hamlet* as Shakespeare finally wrote it," but, like Professor Dover Wilson and others, blaming its occasional aesthetic inferiority on the much-maligned compositor, and, to a certain extent, on Shakespeare's "none of the best" handwriting, the editors have given us a text not so eclectic as that of Dr. Wilson, but one none the less open to some of the same charges of inconsistency as the New Cambridge *Hamlet*. Such charges are, however, easy to level, and as easy to demonstrate; precisely where to draw the line between æsthetic preference (which can sometimes be very ingeniously justified on bibliographical grounds) and what the text says is one of the greatest difficulties of editorship. It is obvious that the present editors have given the matter much more careful consideration than did Dr. Wilson, an adept at the art of eating cake and having it, whose stimulating and provocative edition, avowedly based on Q. 2, is about as eclectic as an edition well can be.

It is one of the mysteries of Shakespearean scholarship that, though Q. 2 of *Hamlet* is now pretty generally agreed to be the text closest to Shakespeare, the "true and perfect Coppie," no one seems really to like it well enough to stick to it when a favorite emendation will make better sense out of what is already good sense,

e. g., the emendation of *browes* to *braues* (Wilson emends on equally sound bibliographical grounds to *brawls*) in III, iii, 7:

Hazard so neer's as doth hourely grow  
Out of his browes,

a reading which Parrott and Craig, as well as Wilson, consider nonsensical. *Nonsensical* is, however, too strong a word, inasmuch as Shakespeare is full of references to threatening brows (*vide* Schmidt's *Lexicon*; cf. also *Hamlet*, I, ii, 3-4: "our whole Kingdome/ To be contracted in one browe of woe"). The Q. 2 line may well be metonymy, implying menacing, lowering, scowling aspect.

A few more examples will suffice to illustrate some of the dangers which must inevitably beset any endeavor to get back of the compositor and corrector to the copy. In I, ii, 105, Q. 2 has the not unprecedented spelling *course* (for the more usual *corse*). The present editors, though perfectly aware that the same spelling appears in the third quarto of *Richard III* (I, ii, 33), alongside *corse* and *coarse*, believe that the Q. 2 spelling in *Hamlet* shows the *u* for a misprint, and print F. *coarse*.

Q. 2 *wary* in I, ii, 133 is likewise regarded as a printer's error, though a perfectly good phonological explanation of this spelling for *weary* is possible. Indeed, there is very good reason to believe, on the basis of many comparatively unusual though astonishingly apt spellings, that Shakespeare was very frequently phonetic and, to a somewhat lesser extent, analogical in his spelling; and I believe that the Q. 2 compositor (on p. 46 of the volume under review he is, "though conscientious," "unskilled, ignorant, and working under pressure"; on p. 48 he is a "not unintelligent worker") has, through his very inexperience—luckily for us—set up a great many of these phonetic and analogical spellings precisely as he saw them in his copy: that is to say, dolt as he very probably was, he has given some of us a closer, more intimate view of Shakespeare by reason of his slavishness in following his copy than we might otherwise have.

The Q. 2 and F. line "Breathing like sanctified and pious bonds" (I, iii, 130) has been accepted by Wilson, who asks, referring to Theobald's emendation, "What is a pious bawd?" The present editors answer this question quite satisfactorily, if it need an answer, and accept the Theobald emendation, at the same time rejecting a reading of the two best texts which makes perfectly good sense—though not so neat, of course, as the emendation which they accept. Likewise, in III, iv, 162 ("Of habits deuill") the editors, this time following Wilson, accept another Theobald emendation ("Of habits euill"), though the comparatively unemancipated editors of the *Globe* were content to follow Q. 2.

It is difficult to agree that Qq. *cost* in the line "And with such

dayly cost of brazon Cannon" (1, 1, 73) is "probably a misprint for *cast*." The reading of the two earliest texts makes good sense if we take the word to mean "expense"; also, the word may well be a variant spelling of *cast*, reflecting, not a compositor's o/a error, but an Elizabethan confusion between the sounds designated by those letters reflecting itself in Shakespeare's spelling. In any case it would seem that, with both early texts in agreement, an edition of Q. 2 should print *cost*, with the aesthetic preference for *cast* relegated to a footnote.

Professor Parrott and Professor Craig have, however, performed a real service in bringing their editorial experience and great familiarity with Elizabethan idiom to the task of preparing a critical edition of this most fascinating of plays. They have, unlike their most recent predecessor, admitted to their text comparatively few of the aesthetic preferences which make the New Cambridge *Hamlet* so largely a reflection of its editor's literary tastes.

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THOMAS PYLES

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*The Mirror for Magistrates.* Edited from Original Texts by LILY B. CAMPBELL. Cambridge, England: University Press; New York: Macmillan, 1938. Pp. vii + 554. \$12.

The title of Professor Campbell's book leads one to expect a reprint based upon *all* the sixteenth-century editions of the *Mirror for Magistrates*. Haslewood in 1815 issued such a reprint, though not very accurately; and his work, based upon the edition of 1587, contains some eighty-six tragedies, while for good measure he also includes Niccols' 1609-1610 edition, thus bringing the total up to ninety-six tragedies, plus inductions, prose links, and so on. Miss Campbell, who knows more about the *Mirror* than any other living scholar, unquestionably had good reasons (one reason must have been the enormous expense of printing) for confining her reprint to what she calls "the original *Mirror*." But it is not unlikely that users of her book unfamiliar with Haslewood or the Elizabethan editions will get the impression that her thirty-three tragedies represent everything contained in the various Elizabethan *Mirrors*.

One could wish that she had stated her editorial aims more clearly. What she says is, "Since the publication of the *Mirror* was progressive and cumulative, it was decided to use as basic texts for this edition the first extant printed text of every part of the work, and to collate later editions of these parts with the original texts" (p. 4), and "The earliest printed text of each part of the *Mirror* has been reprinted and later texts collated with this earliest surviving text" (p. 58). These statements, like the title, may

easily make readers believe that they have before them a complete reprint of all the tragedies in all the sixteenth-century editions. Without clearly defining "the original *Mirror*" she omits the tragedies in the editions of John Higgins (1574, 1575), Thomas Blenerhasset (1578), and Richard Niccols (1609-1610). Of course there is some reason for excluding Blenerhasset, every reason for omitting Niccols; but Higgins' tragedies were reprinted in the 1587 *Mirror*, and here are ignored, despite the statement (p. 4) that "additions to the original *Mirror* [of 1559], made in 1563, in 1578, and in 1587" are reprinted. Furthermore, the Introduction gives sketchy and inadequate details about the contents and authorship of the omitted editions, which are not even mentioned in the Appendix describing "the Huntington Library Copies of the Texts." There is nothing sacred about "the original *Mirror*"; the imitative continuations of Higgins, Blenerhasset, and even Niccols have about as much interest for students as have any original of 1559, 1563, 1578, or 1587, and they furnish striking proof of the popularity and influence of "the original *Mirror*." However cogent the reasons for this abbreviated editing, the fact remains that it does not supersede, as it should have done, Haslewood's century-old book or W. F. Trench's 1898 study. Students must continue to go to them for texts and important information that Miss Campbell has had to omit.

Perhaps it was too much to hope that any editor or publisher could afford the time and money necessary for an up-to-date Haslewood. Dismissing vain—and seemingly impertinent—comments on what Miss Campbell has not done, one cannot be too grateful for her work. To be sure, there are a few slips (like the three trifling errors in the footnotes on the very first page of the Introduction), while in the texts and collations needless brackets for line numbers injure the looks of otherwise beautiful pages. Then, too, her insistence that the *Mirror* is "practically unknown and unread" is exaggerated, as is proved by her own abundant references to books and articles dealing with the *Mirror*, as well as by special studies (like the theses of Hugo Zimermann, James Davies, Georg Kartzke, Hanna Steiner) that she had no occasion to mention. But only an ungenerous, crabbed reviewer could fail to recognize the new and valuable material which the excessively modest Introduction sets forth or could deny praise to the meticulous accuracy with which the texts of the tragedies and the variant readings are reproduced. Editing such texts is a tiresome and arduous job. Miss Campbell herself should undertake the further work on the problems of the *Mirror* that her Introduction calls desirable. She deserves the credit for it—and the fun.

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*Cavalier Drama, an Historical and Critical Supplement to the Study of the Elizabethan and Restoration Stage.* By ALFRED HARBAGE. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1936. Pp. x + 302. \$2.50.

Mr. Harbage believes that one can establish a species of Cavalier plays, separate and distinct from the ordinary post-Fletcherian drama. This *genre* is defined as a "schematic dramatization of the action of Greek romance, peopled by Platonics who deliver themselves of undramatic essays, written in a florid cadenced prose, feminist in tendency, grave and refined in tone. . . . We may call the type a heroic but *précieuse* tragicomedy of *anagnorisis*." (P. 41.)

These Cavalier plays are not unlike the work of Fletcher and his followers, but distinctions may be drawn between the two groups. Fletcher and his professional successors are neither precious nor feminist. In the amateur efforts of the Cavalier, precious characteristics are present to a marked degree; upon occasion the action comes to a full stop while the characters discuss fine feelings. Women assume a greater importance. They become the center of interest, about which the action revolves. Even the titles reflect the change—*Aglaura*, *Claricilla*, *Rosania*. This feminism explains their almost uniform freedom from ribaldry and coarseness. Under Queen Henrietta's leadership the court was being refined, and the court plays reflect the trend. The Cavalier hero, unlike the "lily-livered" heroes of Fletcher, takes on the stature which accompanies heroic valor. The heroine is virtuous first, a woman second. Only in the common use of romantic-type plot material and in the irregularity of the blank verse do the two schools of writers resemble each other, and the blank verse of a Fletcher or a Shirley differs greatly from the rhythmic language of a Carlell or a Suckling. Mr. Harbage seems correct in his contention. Indeed, he might well have gone further. These Cavalier dramas are not only of a different *genre*; they were written from a new, although as yet unannounced aesthetic point of view. Fletcher and his followers wrote with the old end in mind. A tragedy appealed to deep emotions of grief, of horror, of pity. Even in the "decadence" of Jacobean drama this holds true. These plays of the courtiers had a different purpose; the audience came to admire, in the old sense of the word. A later generation was to expound the doctrine of admiration, but the Cavalier audience, no less than that of the sixties and seventies, was prepared to marvel at the bravery of the hero and to wonder at the virtuous sentiments of the heroine.

It follows that Mr. Harbage is not one of those who minimize the importance of the native tradition in favor of continental influence in the development of the heroic tragedy of the Restoration. His analysis of the pre-Restoration drama indicates that the

major characteristics of the later plays were present in the work of the mid-century Cavaliers. The same story materials were employed by the writers of both generations. "There is not a theme, in fact scarcely an incident, in the heroic plays which had not been utilized in the drama of the three preceding decades, not once but many times." (P. 52.) Upon occasion, the Restoration authors borrowed directly from their English predecessors. The heroic ideals of virtue and valor were not new to the later dramatists; "the *Preface to Gondibert* . . . is as easily traceable to native English theory as to that of the continent." (P. 55.) Enough passages are quoted to prove that the typical rant of the heroic play is to be found in the Caroline ancestor. Heroic love was no innovation, for the love encounters of Carlell and Cartwright are those of Orrery and Dryden minus rime. Rime itself was used before *The Siege of Rhodes*; Quarles, Fane, Suckling, and others fell into rime occasionally, and George Cartwright's *Heroic Lover* (printed in 1661, although written earlier) is in couplets throughout. Nowhere except in the observance of the unities, when they were observed, were the Restoration writers indebted chiefly to the French. Mr. Harbage concludes that there can be no question of the continuity of seventeenth-century dramatic tradition. Restoration plays "are more like the Cavalier plays than they are like those of any period in any other nation; they are essentially a home grown product." (P. 69.)

Part two of Mr. Harbage's book is a survey of the drama from Walter Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise* of 1632-33 to the plays of Orrery and the Howards. Detailed analyses of most of the plays of the time are included; these are intended to be a substitute for reading, because so many of the plays are not available. The section is necessarily encyclopedic, and seems complete. A valuable play list is appended to the volume, giving the date of composition or production, date of printing, and authorship of all plays, masques, and pageants of the period. The notes, which provide a running bibliography, are collected at the end of each chapter; as always, this causes some inconvenience to the reader. There is an index.

FLETCHER HENDERSON

*Madison, Wisconsin*

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*David Garrick, Dramatist.* By ELIZABETH P. STEIN. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1938. (Revolving Fund Series, VII.) Pp. xx + 315. \$2.50.

In this critical study of the plays of David Garrick, the author sets out to establish three points: "(1) the merit of these pieces,

(2) the dramatist's contribution to the dramatic literature of the period, (3) and his own position in the history of the drama." In so doing she has examined twenty-one of Garrick's plays, describing them in detail and commenting upon interesting or unusual circumstances of their composition, presentation, and reception. Extensive use has been made of the valuable *MS. Diaries of the Drury Lane Theatre* (in the Folger Shakespeare Library), the records kept by the prompters, most interesting and most full after William Hopkins became prompter about 1760. Miss Stein finds great merit in many of Garrick's little comedies and superlative merit in *The Clandestine Marriage*. Her examination of the plays leads her to place Garrick in the classic tradition of English comedy; she finds that he strove to keep alive the genuine comic spirit of Shakespeare and of the Restoration playwrights in opposition to the prevailing sentimentality of his contemporaries. One might differ with her on individual points or object to her appraisal of particular pieces, but in general her evidence supports her contention that Garrick's plays are not negligible trifles. On the third point, Garrick's position in the history of drama, it is concluded that "After Sheridan and Goldsmith, . . . the third important dramatist of the period is David Garrick."

As Garrick's title to this position depends largely upon the extent of his responsibility for the excellencies of *The Clandestine Marriage*, Miss Stein has reviewed the external evidence of authorship and reinterpreted it in the light of a careful examination of the play in comparison with the other works of Colman and Garrick. Her meticulous study leads to the conclusion that this splendid comedy is "predominately Garrick's play." On the whole, the notable resemblances in situations, characters, and dialogue of *The Clandestine Marriage* to Garrick's acknowledged works convince one that the case is fairly well proved.

But it is not on this comedy alone that Garrick's position is assigned; and in attempting to arouse an interest in Garrick's other pieces equal to her own, the author is not altogether successful. About most of the other plays, little can be said; so the discussion becomes detailed abstracts of plots and ingenious pointing of resemblances to possible sources of inspiration. Garrick knew many plays, English and French, and he used them freely to concoct his own. His genius was, as Miss Stein says, "eclectic." "He had," she remarks, "an uncanny sense for detecting situations which would make good theatre; and with the skill of a master craftsman, he welded these together into extremely diverting and effective plays." That is to say, Garrick's works are in general adaptations. If this is so, there are many plays that might be considered Garrick's as justly as the twenty-one selected for this discussion. It is, perhaps, impossible to establish the corpus of Garrick's revisions and alterations. But what about Kelly's

*False Delicacy?* If it is true that Garrick contributed to that play the characters of Cecil and Mrs. Harley, he must have re-written Kelly's original, for as the play now stands, if it lacked these two characters it would be almost without beginning and entirely without end. Subjected to the sort of analysis that Miss Stein has given to *The Clandestine Marriage* it might yield results almost as interesting. Furthermore, why is *The Institution of the Garter* not taken up with the other spectacular pieces, such as *Cymon* and *The Jubilee*? It represents the same technique; and, though adapted from Gilbert West (as was *Cymon* from Dryden), it is as much Garrick's as are the translations from the French. And is it quite fair to ignore the adapted tragedies? Though all will agree that Garrick's talent in writing as in acting was greater in comedy, he did adapt (or restore) *Romeo and Juliet*, revising Otway's, not Shakespeare's, last act; and he altered *Cymbeline* and *Hamlet* and Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*. To neglect these adaptations is, perhaps, to give only one side of the picture.

Miss Stein's book suffers from careless editing. In the first paragraph of Chapter I, it is stated that by acting surreptitiously at the beginning of his career Garrick ran the risk of being fined fifty pounds under the Licensing Act of 1737. This act forbade the performing of any *new* play that had not been licensed; Garrick was acting in an *old* play,—in an illegitimate theatre, it is true, but one that was evading the prohibition by giving an ostensibly free exhibition between the parts of a "concert" of music. On the same page (p. 3) it is stated, "But no law prohibiting such plays [as the *The Historical Register* and *The Beggar's Opera*] was definitely put into operation until Fielding's defamatory farces had forced the enactment of such a decree." The point is not at all essential to Miss Stein's study, but this statement is slightly misleading. It has been well known that the Lord Chamberlain had long exercised the power to halt performance of objectionable pieces, and he had prevented the appearance of Gay's *Polly* only ten years or so before Garrick's debut.<sup>1</sup> On page 7 the Duke of Grafton is called "Lord Grafton," and on page 11 (and in the index) Henry Bate is called "Bates." On the point of the casting of *Lethe* (p. 34) it might be worth while to note that the Drury Lane playbills do not show that Garrick ever acted the Drunken Man, though Stephen Jones does list him among the characters acted by Garrick. In the season 1748-

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Arthur F. White, "The Office of Revels and Dramatic Censorship During the Restoration Period," *Western Reserve University Bulletin*, n. s. XXXIV, no. 13 (Sept. 15, 1931), pp. 5-45. Two other studies of related matters have appeared since Miss Stein's book went to press. They are Alfred Jackson, "The Stage and the Authorities, 1700-1714," *RES.*, XIV (1938), 53-62; and P. J. Crean, "The Stage Licensing Act of 1737," *MP.*, XXXV (1938), 239-255.

1749 Garrick played the Poet and the Frenchman; Yates played the Drunken Man. Moreover, Garrick's parts were taken by various members of the company, and Garrick himself seldom appeared in the piece between 1750 and 1756, when Lord Chalkstone was added to the *dramatis personae*. In comparing *The Male Coquette* to *The Provok'd Wife* (p. 52), the reference to Sir John Brute in woman's clothes shows that the version used is not Vanbrugh's original but the revision of 1725. Concerning the reception of *Neck or Nothing*, Genest's statement that it "was abandoned after seven or eight performances" (p. 95) is allowed to stand. Actually, the piece was performed eleven times in the season 1766-1767 and seven times in 1773-1774. The reasons given on page 133 are not sufficient to prove the contention that the Huntington Library manuscript of *The Jubilee* was the Drury Lane copy. It is just as likely that it was the Licenser's copy, got somehow by Kemble from Larpent. But to argue the point would take more space than is available here. On page 155 is the assumption that on the retirement of Weston, Parsons "probably" acted the part of Dozey in *May Day*. It could have been discovered from the playbills that the part was acted by Waldron, if it was worth while to mention the fact at all. Reference to playbills or to advertisements in newspapers, instead of entire reliance on the prompter's diaries and Genest, would have prevented also the futile speculations about conditions surrounding the delivery of the interlude-entertainment *Linco's Travels* (pp. 165-166).

Slight though they are individually, these and other errors and inadequacies detract from the value of the work. Though few books get to the public without flaws, in this case the services of an informed copy-reader would have saved the author and the publishers some embarrassment.

DOUGALD MACMILLAN

*The University of North Carolina*

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*The Philosophy of Rhetoric.* By I. A. RICHARDS. New York: Oxford University Press. Pp. 138. \$1.75.

Mr. Richards has long concerned himself with the meaning of meaning, and particularly with the implications of his studies for criticism and literary interpretation. This present volume, the Mary Flexner Lectures, delivered at Bryn Mawr in 1936, is concerned with rhetoric, the new rhetoric, which, he declares, "should be a study of misunderstanding and its remedies." His interest is thus both theoretic and practical. With the older rhetoric he has little sympathy, regarding it as primarily a body of prudential rules for the furtherance of effective dispute. The older rhetoric,

furthermore, is interested in large-scale disposals of meaning rather than in a more minute investigation of the structure of the meanings with which discourse is composed. Richards is interested in the question: how do words work in discourse? The true results of the inquiry are to be tested pragmatically.

To forestall the suggestion that failure in communication may result from confusion of ideas, he declares his belief in the central importance of words both for concepts and experience.

Indeed, an idea or a notion, like the physicist's ultimate particles and rays, is only known by what it does. Apart from its dress or other signs it is not identifiable. (P. 5)

Words are the meeting points at which regions of experience which can never combine in sensation or intuition, come together. (P. 131)

One of the principal objects of attack is "the proper meaning superstition." Only in scientific language where concepts and definable universals are the subjects, do meanings achieve any degree of stability; in other forms of discourse, most of all in poetry, the meanings of words are functions of their contexts, being variable and multiple. In his endeavor to emphasize the fluidity of meaning, Richards, if he is correct, makes one cease to wonder at loss in communication; one doubts its possibility at all. For if the meaning of a word is in every instance determined by a particular context, and if each previous context was similarly unique, how is communication, certainly dependent in some measure upon recurrent significations, achievable? Is not connotation possible only where there is denotation?

But successful communication, he contends, is not to be achieved by reducing all discourse to the stable, "neutral," character of scientific language; that is neither possible nor desirable. The inevitable shifts of meaning in all interesting discussion are the source of power in language.

The remedy is not to resist these shifts but to learn to follow them. They recur in the same forms with different words; they have similar plans and common patterns, which experience enables us to observe and obey in practice—sometimes with a skilful ease which seems amazing when we examine it. . . . Even now, if we could take systematic cognizance of even a small part of the shifts we fleetingly observe, the effect would be like that of introducing the multiplication table to calculators who just happened to know the working of a few sums and no others. And with such a clarification, such a translation of our skills into comprehension, a new era of human understanding and co-operation in thinking would be at hand. (P. 73)

Unfortunately we are not enlightened as to the pattern of shifts by which desirable ambiguity becomes systematic clarity. The new era of understanding must wait. (Stuart Chase is hot on the trail.)

The philosophic basis of his theorem—"what a word means is the missing parts of the contexts from which it draws its dele-

gated efficacy"—is most difficult to follow; for whereas "context" has the usual meaning in the last four chapters, in Chapter Two he uses "context" in a special sense.

Now for the sense of 'context.' Most generally it is a name for a whole cluster of events that recur together—including the required conditions as well as whatever we may pick out as cause or effect. But the modes of causal recurrence on which meaning depends are peculiar through that delegated efficacy I have been talking about. In these contexts one item—typically a word—takes over the duties of parts which can then be omitted from the recurrence. There is thus an abridgement of the context only shown in the behavior of living things, and most extensively and drastically shown by man. When this abridgement happens, what the sign or word—the item with these delegated powers—means is the missing parts of the context. (P. 34)

Nor does the literary context of this chapter, or of the whole book, make this clear. He is, apparently, applying to language study the philosophy of organism.

The practical conclusions drawn are chiefly negative in character, errors for the critic and reader to avoid. The advice is sound; the illustrations of critical follies are excellent; the examples of rich connotative interpretations are brilliant. The discussion of metaphor as a fundamental principle of language is particularly illuminating, giving us helpful terminology and a new realization of the subtle interanimation of the "tenor" and "vehicle." One is slightly troubled, however, to learn that "bread" may be metaphorical for "house" since "housel" may mean "little house." It is a pity he did not look up the etymology of *housel* in the *NED*.

The writer does raise intriguing questions, and gives us prudential admonitions which only the unwary will disregard.

CLIFFORD P. LYONS

*The University of Florida*

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*Irish and Norse Traditions about the Battle of Clontarf.* By

ALBERTUS JOHANNES GOEDHEER. Haarlem: H. D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon N. V. 1938. Pp. xiii, 124.

This dissertation takes up for scrutiny the difficult, but fascinating question of inter-relationship between the Irish and the Icelandic literature concerning the battle of Clontarf (1014). Both traditions have been studied before, to be sure, but not by specialists thoroughly acquainted with both literatures.

G. begins by a study of the Irish tradition, whose chief exponent is *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh*, "The War of the Irish with the Foreigners," a (semi-)historical work from the first half of the 12th century. G. discusses its MSS and its place in Irish literary history, showing that it was a popular work, which influenced more

or less all later treatments of the matter, whether in verse or prose. Of these derivative works G. gives one 18th century poem, printed here for the first time (with English translation). By comparison with older Irish annals, especially the *Ulster Annals*, contemporary with the events of Brian's life, G. shows that the *Cogadh* is partly based on annalistic records, partly on oral tradition, parallels to which can be found not only in the Icelandic records, but also in English sources (Beda, Asser's *Life of Alfred*, and *Gesta Herwardi*). In view of the fact that King Brian's sufferings during his guerilla warfare against the Norsemen are described in much the same fashion as Alfred's troubles under the similar circumstances of an earlier day, one feels tempted to ask, whether the story of the patriotic Alfred, in literary or oral form, might not have given the author of the *Cogadh* his fundamental point of view of Brian as the defender of the Irish against the Norsemen. But though G. often refers to the "political point of view" of the *Cogadh*, as obscuring actual history, he never attempts to explain its causes.

G. polemizes against modern writers of Irish history who, presumably led astray by the patriotic attitude of the *Cogadh* as well as through misinterpretations of the Icelandic texts, have regarded the Battle of Clontarf either as a decisive blow to the Norse invaders, or to Paganism. The status of the Norsemen in Ireland, G. argues, was definitely not affected by it; they fought on both sides. In reality the battle was one of many fought by Irish kings aspiring to the overlordship of the whole island. By tradition the title of high-king belonged to the Kings of Tara, but their actual power was not always commensurate with their claim. King Brian was *de facto* lord of Ireland, but he was not of the Tara stock. After his death King Maelshechlainn of Tara resumed the high-kingship.

In his treatment of the Icelandic sources G. follows chiefly the views of E. Ó. Sveinsson (in *Um Njálu* 1933). Like EÓS and others, G. assumes a *\*Brjáns saga*, from around 1200, utilized in *Njála* and *Þorsteins saga Síðuhallssonar*. But unlike EÓS, he argues that *Darraðar-ljóð* can have had no place in this *\*Brjáns s.* His reasons are, partly (p. xiii) that *Darr.*, being pagan in character, constitutes a foreign element in the Christian *\*Brjáns s.*, partly that *Darr.* contradicts the events as represented in *\*Brjáns s.*, since the poem presents the Norsemen as victorious (p. 74 ff.). Neither of these reasons seems conclusive to me. The poem *Darr.* is part and parcel of a portent, a vision, appearing on the day of the battle to a man in Katañes (Caithness), a similar event also happening to a man in the Faroe Islands. This portent, with the poem, is (in *Njála*, our only source) put at the head of a list of wonders, less formidable, perhaps, but one of them at least as heathen in character as the *Darr.*-vision. I refer to the mysterious

disappearance of Hárekr, which G. finds quite appropriate as an Irish folklore element in *\*Brjáns s.*

But though I can see no valid reason why the author of *\*Brjáns s.* should not utilize the pagan *Darraðar-ljóð* in his saga, I quite agree with G. as to the unmistakably Irish origin of the motif complex in this remarkable poem.

In conclusion let it be said that this dissertation seems to be a solid piece of work not to be overlooked by those who are interested in Irish or Icelandic literature and folklore.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*Beowulf: The Monsters and the Critics.* By J. R. R. TOLKIEN.

(Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, British Academy, 1936. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. xxii.) London: Humphrey Milford. Pp. 53. 3s.

In the title of this lecture, I fear, there is a slight suggestion that may lead critics to hesitate before saying anything further about the poem, and even perhaps anything about the address itself. Yet the moral of what Mr. Tolkien has to offer is that the monsters referred to, Grendel and the dragon, are perfectly placed where they belong and contribute to the meaning of *Beowulf* as nothing else could. If the substance of his remarks is a little thin, he presents a type of criticism of which more is needed on medieval literature, and he does this with learning and skill. Indeed he is more indebted to the philologists, mythologists, and archeologists, than his comments on them might imply. Without their labors he could hardly have made the penetrating observation that "The illusion of historical truth and perspective, that has made *Beowulf* seem such an attractive quarry, is largely a product of art" (p. 5.). The same is true when with regard to the opposition between two halves of each line in the poem, "of roughly equivalent phonetic weight, and significant content," he says: "They are more like masonry than music" (p. 31), although here we may ask him to define "music" or to turn his attention to certain ancient and modern varieties. He might in fact have spent even more time contemplating monsters in old stories, with reference, for example, to such a point as Lawrence makes about the plot as a whole: "But the poet was powerless to alter the fact that Beowulf was killed by the dragon, and that his people came to grief when he no longer ruled over them. The story was too well known to make radical alterations . . . possible."<sup>1</sup> Such a reason may well explain why the poet

<sup>1</sup> W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*, Cambridge [Mass.], 1928, p. 217.

kept to the order in which he gives the episodes. For artistically, I believe, the supernatural overtones of horror surrounding Grendel and his dame would have furnished an even greater climax.

Lawrence's essay offers many other points worth consideration. Thus he says: "The poet is rather shy of definite description of the dragon, as is his habit when dealing with the supernatural. A monster is more fearful if pictured in the imagination."<sup>2</sup> These ideas supplement what Tolkien has in mind when he observes: "Beowulf's dragon . . . is not to be blamed for being a dragon, but rather for not being dragon enough, plain pure fairy-story dragon" (p. 16). Further details regarding the imperfect adaptation of the pagan story to a Christian theme might have been taken from the same study. But the present lecture covers much and its main contention is sound.

HOWARD R. PATCH

*Smith College*

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*Altfranzösische Grammatik. Erster Teil. Lautlehre.* Von HANS RHEINFELDER. München: Hueber, 1937. Pp. xv + 323.

*Evolution et structure de la langue française.* Par WALTHER VON WARTBURG. Deuxième édition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937. Pp. viii + 290.

*Eléments de phonologie française.* Par GEORGES GOUGENHEIM. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935. Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Série Initiation et Méthode, fasc. 7. Pp. 136.

Mr. Rheinfelder's book is probably the most explicit text of the sort, the one most resembling a *viva voce* explanation and class discussion of phonetic etymology. The author is at great pains to acquaint his students with the physiological and psychological realities behind sound changes, does not shrink from long and detailed explanations as often as they are needed, and is lavish in his collection of examples. The meaning of each word cited is given, and semantic change indicated all the way from Latin to Modern French. Sound changes, too, are carried through to modern times with a prominent diagram indicating the development to c. 1100 A. D. In every way these 322 impeccably printed pages offer a notable example of the virtues of order, unflagging attention to detail, and good pedagogical sense. The author has

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

realized that the body of historical French phonetics is not to be reduced entirely to law, and he is honest in presenting the numerous exceptions or contradictions not in footnotes but in full type above the line. And yet, on occasion, he ventures to formulate a law, like his predecessors, Schwan and Behrens, when the small number of available examples scarcely call for that honor (two examples on p. 141).

In a book so full, not to say discursive, one is surprised to find that no use is made of the principles of regression and false regression and that the explanation of Gilliéron for *foin*, *avoine*, *moins* is not even mentioned. To account for these words, and for *craie*, *monnaie*, *verre*, etc., by dialectal influence or borrowing seems rather old-fashioned today. Another regrettable omission is that of a *Wörterverzeichnis*, promised for the end of the second volume (*Formenlehre*), where it will not render the services it would at the end of the first.

Mr. Rheinfelder's manual, being in German, is of course not destined to wide popularity among American students. Moreover, it is long and detailed and, if I am a good judge, we shall soon see, in the courses on the history of French offered in American universities, a marked diminution in the time and importance accorded to the memorizing of phonetic laws. This will be due, not to the attack on phonetic law as such, but rather to the broadened scope of language history. Fifty years ago phonology, or phonetic etymology, was the principal and proudest monument of Romance Philology; since then the work of Ferdinand Brunot has appeared, and scores of other scholars have made notable contributions. Synchronic linguistics is knocking at the door and may hope to find a place beside historical grammar. When this wealth of knowledge is more widely diffused, and put into manuals, it will be ready to become the stuff of university instruction.

Pointing the way to what may be done in this direction is Mr. von Wartburg's *Evolution et structure de la langue française*, a book of many merits, among which should not be overlooked that of being written in French. To put so much substantial information on all phases of the history of French into less than three hundred pages, accessible and interesting to the general reader as well as to the student, is a credit to the author's judgment and taste as well as to his erudition. Of necessity drawing on the work of many scholars, notably Brunot, this little volume is none the less notably original in plan and in many of its parts, more so than a modest preface would indicate. Here will be found, for example, brief presentation of the author's superstratum theory for the diphthongization of vowels in French, and of his correlations between dialect boundaries and the settlements of Germanic tribes over the territory of Roman Gaul. And at the other end of the book, the last chapter, *L'état actuel de la langue française*, is particularly satisfying for its skillful analysis

and characterization. One regrets it is not longer, particularly in the section called *Le français avancé*.

In a sketch of restricted dimensions there cannot be a place for everything, and it would be possible to reproach Professor Wartburg for this or that omission and, on the other hand, to question the necessity or importance of a paragraph here and there. The present reviewer, for example, has the impression that the literary language and the work of certain writers—masters of the language, to be sure—are given disproportionate attention, which might be reduced and a place made for the characterization of certain contemporary types of French: the languages of journalism, of the bureaucracy, and particularly of politicos: the latter daily finds new ways of disproving the adage of Rivarol.

This second edition differs from the first (Leipzig, Teubner, 1934) in the addition of some thirty or forty pages on the language of the nineteenth century, which correct a regrettable tapering-off in the earlier redaction. The new pages (209-40) are well and clearly printed, but the rest is reproduced from the first edition by an offset process not good enough to avoid insufficient inking, blurred outlines, and frequent misalignment.

The sense of the word *phonologie* in Mr. Gougenheim's title is that made familiar by the work of Trubetzkoy and the Cercle Linguistique de Prague: "La phonétique d'une langue étudie les sons ou phonèmes existant dans cette langue, la phonologie étudie les phonèmes en tant qu'ils ont une valeur significative ou fonctionnelle." Chance has brought it about that French and English terminology for this new branch of linguistics clash at several points. The French *phonologie*, *phonème*, and *unité phonologique* correspond to the English *phonemics*, *phone*, and *phoneme* respectively; English *phonology* refers of course to *la phonétique historique*. As an additional complication, *phonologie* was used in a different sense by De Saussure, and his priority has recently been defended by Mr. Grammont who would call the new science, toward which he is markedly cool, *néophonologie*.

Although its nomenclature is perhaps neither as novel nor as unambiguous as might be hoped for, phonemics itself is a welcome and invigorating discipline. The present reviewer is particularly attracted by its indirect pedagogical value, feeling that it may point the way toward more efficient ways of training the ear of students learning a foreign language. In this respect phonemics is not so much to be opposed to phonetics as to be considered a part of it and a yardstick of instructional values.

Mr. Gougenheim's study shows the workmanship of a competent and resourceful linguist, and is of particular interest because it is the first survey of the complete phonemic structure of French, for, as Trubetzkoy has been at pains to point out, the science of phonemics rests upon a progression from the whole to the parts. Only in mapping the complete system of a language is the science

functioning to the full. And, doubtless, only when so handled will phonemics make clear its essential aims and horizons. What these are is not yet manifest, but it may be hoped that further studies and discussions will soon reveal them. In the meanwhile, it may not be out of place for a language teacher to derive, from studies such as these, an immediate if humble profit.

CHARLES A. KNUDSON

*The University of Michigan*

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*Two Old French Poems on Saint Thibaut.* Edited by R. T. HILL.

New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936. Yale Romanic Studies, xi. Pp. vi + 182.

*L'Hystore Job.* Adaptation en vers français du *Compendium in Job* de Pierre de Blois. Editée par R. C. BATES. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Yale Romanic Studies, xiv. Pp. xxx + 291.

*The Old French Lives of Saint Agnes and other vernacular versions of the Middle Ages.* Edited by A. J. DENOMY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938. Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, xiii. Pp. xi + 283.

The three works here listed together have in common that they are editions by North American scholars (Mr. Denomy is affiliated with the Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto) of thirteenth century French texts, based on Latin originals, in the category of religious literature. Each text is found in a single MS only, all are in verse, the work of not ungifted poets.

To Mr. Bates has fallen the good fortune of having the most interesting and the longest poem to edit (3336 lines). Not too well described by its title, the *Hystore Job* is a translation, with original additions, of the *Compendium in Job* of Peter of Blois, based in turn on the *Moralia in liber Job* of Gregory the Great. Its content is a combination of Christian and lay morals, with censorious and satirical comments on human shortcomings. The term of "sermon" given it by Mr. Bates is hardly applicable, considering its length and its none too unified construction; moreover, I do not find convincing the arguments advanced by the editor (p. xvii-xxi) to prove that the work was intended for oral presentation. Be that as it may, the *Hystore Job* has an honorable place in Old French didactic literature, and has been edited with the care and competence that it deserved. The notes are full and

explicit, a table permits the reader to see at a glance which lines are from Peter of Blois and which are original, the glossary (100 pp. in length) is complete and well-arranged. In the latter, I would point out that "chaînes" is a careless gloss for "cheps," and that the gloss for "laissiet" in l. 3043 is confusing and unnecessary. Mr. Bates writes in French, a practice to be commended.

Of the two texts on St. Thibaut published by Mr. Hill, one, an *épître farcie*, is of 398 octosyllables, the other consists of 1058 alexandrins arranged in brief *laisses*. Unpublished when the present edition was undertaken, poem II was published in 1929 by Miss Helen Manning as a Columbia dissertation. Mr. Hill explains in his introduction his reasons for carrying on with his own project; one of the best of these was his discovery of the MS referred to by Mabillon as the Codex Uticensis and containing the Latin *Vita* most closely resembling the longer poem, below which it is now printed. Less interesting to this reviewer than the comparison between the Latin and the French of Poem II is the comparison between Poem I and Poem II, which in choice of meter and in length offer such neat indices to the personalities of the two authors. One has the merits of brevity and simplicity; the other's gravity and careful rhetoric is perhaps more in keeping with their subject. Mr. Hill has listed at length the characteristic linguistic features of the manuscript and of each poet; the notes include material gathered on the editor's "pilgrimages" to places in Europe, such as Provins and the neighborhood of Vicenza, which figure prominently in the saint's life. The glossary is exhaustive.

Mr. Denomy's book suffers in several respects by a comparison with the two others in this group, first of all because its content is less unified. To quote from the publisher's note:

This volume presents an edition of a hitherto unpublished Old French Life of Saint Agnes, ms. B. N. Fr. 1553, accompanied by a study of the language and dialect of the poem. It presents a mixture of Picard and Francian forms, and linguistic evidence points to the middle of the thirteenth century as the time of composition. The Introduction reviews the scholarship dealing with the origin and growth of the St. Agnes legend. Appendices present for the first time four other versions of the legend. . . . A further section of the book studies some eleven versions of the legend in the vernacular languages of mediaeval Western Europe.

The thousand lines of the principal text are a little lost in all this, the more so as they are printed in smaller type than the rest of the book. They are preceded by a diligent study of the language, followed by helpful notes and, 175 pages farther on, by five pages of glossary. It is regrettable that the acute accent is not used over tonic E, final or before final S. Brief notes on details follow.

P. 53 n., Tobler's work is inaccurately cited. P. 55; 23. suppress. P. 56; 26. "The change of 'iée' to 'ie' is hard to explain." Here, as in other places, Mr. Denomy's linguistic introduction tries to do too much. The

reader scarcely expects detailed remarks or new light on historical phonetics. P. 60; *7. -aige* is probably no more than a spelling here. P. 86, l. 623. *Li*, not *le*. Cf. the note to this line. The change of *mal* to *mals* is not imperative. P. 120: The *Histoire littéraire de la France* is called the *Histoire de la littérature française* here, again on p. 175, and in the Bibliography. The article on prose lives of saints in Old French in volume 33 is attributed, incorrectly, to Gaston Paris on p. 120; to Paul Meyer, correctly, on p. 175. P. 189: I do not see how the line *Si com Renars trai Isengrim, son compere* "would seem to indicate a composition after *Renard le Nouvel* written by Jacquemars Gelée of Lille in 1288." P. 266: Page references to articles in periodicals should be given.

Of the three editors, two have made systematic listings of the linguistic features of their texts. The other, Mr. Bates, explains his omission as follows:

D'abord, Ewald Scherping, dans une petite thèse, publiée en 1904, a analysé, avec compétence, les phénomènes linguistiques du poème. . . . On a publié des centaines d'études séparées sur la langue de différents scribes et auteurs picards, des centaines de collections de détails: si j'avais, à mon tour, étudié la langue de l'*Hystore* mieux et plus à fond que Scherping, ce qui n'aurait pas été très difficile, je n'aurais pas ajouté un seul fait à ce qu'on sait déjà. Ce dont on a plutôt besoin, c'est d'une étude d'ensemble qui ne soit pas un travail de répétition.

This reviewer joins Mr. Bates heartily in calling for such a book, having felt for some time that a great deal of patient compilation is being done to no good purpose. Romance philology is no longer in the age of Tobler and Förster, and there is no reason to imitate their studies of the *Dis dou vrai aniel* or the *Reimpredigt*. Moreover, thirteenth century texts show many interchanges across dialect boundaries and enough of a departure from good phonetic spelling to make such studies very delicate. A substantial essay on the usages of this period is much needed, after which editors will be quit for pointing out the unusual or exceptional in their texts.

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*Denkform und Gemeinschaft bei Jules Romains.* Von EDGAR GLÄSSER. (Romanische Studien, unter Mitwirkung der Herren Universitätsprofessoren: Ph. A. Becker, M. Friedwagner, E. Wechssler . . . , herausgegeben von Dr. Emil Ebering, Heft 46). Berlin: Verlag Emil Ebering. 1938. Pp. 89.

Quand on voudra étudier l'avachissement intellectuel de la pensée en Allemagne sous l'influence de l'idéologie "national-socialiste," on trouvera dans ce fascicule du privat-docent à l'Université de Heidelberg Glässer un exemple typique: aucune précision de l'idée, rien

que de vagues et vastes déclamations, de la propagande idéologique et du métafouillis. On voudrait faire plier la réalité à certains préjugés bien assis dans l'âme du pseudo-savant. Il s'agit de prouver que l'unanimisme de J. Romains (qui serait un "Sozial-mythus") a évolué vers un "gemeinschaftsbildender Raumgeist" qui culmine dans "Blutmystik" et "Blutmythos" (*Préface à l'Homme Blanc*). Par conséquent—nous l'apprenons dès la préface—ceux qui n'aiment plus le peuple allemand depuis qu'il s'est "trouvé" et qui sont les mêmes qui voyaient des valeurs sociales seulement dans l'"untermenschliche Gier und Greuel" de la psychanalyse, ne pourront pas comprendre l'essai de compréhension de la poésie de la "Gemeinschaftsseele" qu'a tenté M. Glässer. En n'insistant pas sur l'amour profond pour l'éternelle Allemagne de ceux qui persistent à croire que "la cupidité et les atrocités infra-humaines" de l'Allemagne actuelle prouvent plutôt son égarement, je ferai remarquer que le "mythe de l'Homme Blanc" n'est pas identique au "mythe de l'Homme Allemand" et que l'unanimisme juvénil de Romains a plutôt déifié les groupes passagers qui se nouent et se dénouent capricieusement dans une caserne, une église, une ville, que les entités nationales ou raciales. Romains s'est inspiré (probablement à son insu) à la psychologie de Lebon plutôt qu'à M. Rosenberg. Comme tout doit être ramené à des valeurs "allemandes," la poésie "L'Individu" de J. Romains doit trahir la "Denkform des Stirb- und Werde-motivs"—mais qui ne voit la différence entre l'anéantissement partiel et éphémère de l'individu de Romains dans le collectif de la ville et l'idée goethéenne de la *renaissance* des espèces par la mort des individus, qui ne voit la frivilité de la comparaison d'une poésie finissant sur le vers: *Je connais le bonheur de n'être presque(!) pas* avec les vers brûlants de nostalgie cosmique de l'âme voulant renaître dans "Selige Sehnsucht"? Il faudrait pourtant chérir un peu davantage les véritables valeurs allemandes. . . . Il est d'ailleurs curieux de voir notre critique se confiner dans l'étude des débuts littéraires de son auteur et éviter d'en traiter l'œuvre centrale, le roman-fleuve "Les hommes de bonne volonté", sous prétexte que cela sortirait du cadre de son travail et qu'il n'a pu se procurer tous les volumes de la série!—selon la vérité probable parce que dans cette œuvre le récit objectif prime le lyrisme unanimiste et parce qu'on y voit, au moins dans les volumes parus, peu d'allusions au mythe du sang ni même d'adhésion intime à l'idéal national. (M. Glässer pense que les "Hommes de bonne volonté" sont ceux qui considèrent le bien et le mal comme racialement déterminés.) Ayant moi-même traité dans le temps du style unanimiste, je ne puis voir aujourd'hui dans ces métaphores se répétant indéfiniment et tirées de la digestion, de l'ingurgitation et du vomissement, qu'une recette commode (commode aussi à l'analyse du 'stylisticien'), que M. Romains a eu raison d'abandonner dans une œuvre mûre. Toute réalité est

défigurée, violentée dans cet opuscule à l'enthousiasme bon marché de M. Glässer: on ne peut même se fier aux citations de textes: p. ex. le passage cité de "Les Hommes de bonne volonté" III/17, qui est placé à la fin de l'opuscule en guise de soi-disant "confession" de J. Romains (dans laquelle M. Glässer prétend pouvoir communier avec l'auteur au nom d'une "obligation commune"):

Ce qu'il faut pour oser faire le rêve de modifier la Société, ce qu'aucune énergie ne remplace, le vieux mot d' "idéal " le désigne,

n'est pas du tout une confession de J. Romains, mais une des idées qui passent par la tête d'un de ses héros. Le passage continue en effet: "Mais d'une façon si usée, si convenue, que la bouche a l'impression de mâcher de la phrase morte pour bavards. Quant à la chose même, Jerphanion se la représente avec force." On voit que le personnage de J. Romains oppose au mot "idéal"—qui lui semble trivial et désuet—la chose, la réforme sociale. Singulière "confession" que Romains démentirait dans la ligne suivante!

LEO SPITZER

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*Mallarmé, Ein Dichter des Jahrhundert-Endes.* Von KURT WAIS.

München: C. H. Beck, 1938. Pp. 548.

*La métaphore dans l'œuvre de Stéphane Mallarmé.* Par DEBORAH A. K. AISH. Paris: Droz, 1938. Pp. 210. (Thèse de Doctorat de l'Université de Paris.)

On ne saurait désormais étudier Mallarmé sans utiliser l'important ouvrage que M. Wais vient de lui consacrer. C'est presqu'une somme de ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'histoire intellectuelle extérieure du poète. M. Wais ne se soucie guère d'intuitions profondes sur la personnalité de Mallarmé, de reconstruction par l'intérieur de son œuvre (ce qui le rend injustement sévère pour l'ouvrage de Thibaudet, pp. 7-8), mais il a voulu écrire un livre "geistesgeschichtlich," et faire intervenir, au même titre que l'histoire proprement littéraire, tous les facteurs sociaux, philosophiques, politiques, historiques, psychologiques, qui ont eu ou ont pu avoir de l'influence sur l'œuvre de Mallarmé. Son étude est conçue comme une biographie qui fait place à chaque instant à la discussion des textes ou des problèmes nécessaires, et aux rapports qu'a entretenus Mallarmé, ou simplement aux rapprochements qu'il suggère, avec tous les personnages, idées ou faits qu'il est possible de connaître. Presque tous les poèmes ou textes en prose importants sont analysés et commentés, presque tous les problèmes que pose l'œuvre sont abordés. On trouve à la fin une excellente bibliographie,

dont on regrette qu'elle ne concerne que les œuvres de Mallarmé et leurs traductions, et un Index des noms propres, qui aurait pu être complété par un Index rerum.

Ce travail considérable est malheureusement d'utilisation difficile, et sa méthode appelle quelques réserves. M. Wais semble accorder la même autorité à des sources très différentes, que d'ailleurs il ne mentionne pas toujours. Pourtant les déclarations de Mallarmé, les volumes de souvenirs de ses contemporains, les manuscrits non encore publiés, et la tradition orale, si importante sur certains points, mais si sujette à caution, ne devaient pas être traités de la même façon. Ainsi, on ne sait d'où est tirée la liste (pp. 277-8) de quelques-uns des habitués des fameux mardis de la rue de Rome, qu'il serait bon pourtant d'établir une bonne fois en entier avec une critique rigoureuse. Dans le détail, l'ordre des idées est difficile à suivre, et on passe souvent sans raison apparente d'une idée à une autre. Le livre est écrit dans une langue inutilement compliquée et obscure, germanique à l'excès (les citations mêmes sont le plus souvent traduites en allemand), qui exige un véritable déchiffrement si l'on ne possède pas parfaitement la langue. Trop souvent des idées intéressantes et neuves sont indiquées sans être poussées jusqu'aux conséquences qu'elles comportent: ainsi les quelques titres d'ouvrages sur la mode cités p. 188 pouvaient fournir une histoire suggestive; ainsi, pour les procédés de langage, une intéressante opposition de la "transposition" et de la "structure" (p. 332) mène à plusieurs idées justes, mais pas à des applications précises, ou alors celles-ci sont très discutables (p. 354). Je ne mentionne que pour mémoire des concessions aux idées officielles de l'Allemagne actuelle, trop visibles pour pouvoir induire en erreur: recherche du "Volkstümliche" chaque fois que c'est possible (pp. 9, 96, 238, 320), démentie d'ailleurs par l'aveu final (p. 450), mention des Juifs (pp. 250, 278, 310), des cheveux blonds et des yeux bleus des femmes (pp. 53, 57, 193, 197), importance excessive donnée à Wagner (cité 33 fois) et à Houston Stewart Chamberlain, utilisé en quelque sorte comme garant de Mallarmé (pp. 1, 427), exaltation de Stefan George (cité 49 fois), parfois même aux dépens de Mallarmé (p. 169).

Mais si ce livre ne présente pas vraiment de thèse, ne renouvelle pas la figure de Mallarmé, il est exempt des préjugés trop souvent répandus par une critique inférieure à sa tâche; ainsi les rapports de l'art et de la vie (p. 323), ceux de la musique et de la poésie (p. 355 sqq.) sont montrés dans leur vraie lumière, et la sympathie de M. Wais pour la personne et l'œuvre de Mallarmé, quoique parfois dissimulée, est indéniable.

Dans la masse de faits et d'idées que rassemble l'ouvrage, on notera les nouveautés suivantes: au point de vue biographique, d'intéressants détails sur le mariage du poète (p. 53 sqq.), presque tous tirés de la correspondance inédite avec Cazalis, sur sa vie à

Paris (p. 170 sqq.) et sur les femmes qu'il a connues (p. 192 sqq.), en particulier sur Méry Laurent (p. 197 sqq.), dont la physionomie est reconstituée de la façon la plus vraisemblable et la plus équitable. L'ensemble fait un Mallarmé bien plus humain que ne le représente d'ordinaire la critique française. L'étude de l'influence de Poe (cité 62 fois) et de Villiers de l'Isle-Adam (cité 45 fois) est très poussée. M. Wais insiste aussi justement sur le conflit faustien entre l'intelligence et la vie, sans marquer suffisamment son lien avec la hantise du personnage d'Hamlet. L'idée de la persistance d'une enfance idéale chez le poète (p. 444 sqq.) pouvait mener loin, et se compléter en particulier par une étude du thème de la naissance, qu'il aurait fallu, il est vrai, traiter par la psychanalyse, interdite à un Allemand d'aujourd'hui. Enfin, pour l'exégèse, outre des contributions à certains problèmes de détail déjà presque aussi traditionnels que les *ἀποίαι* homériques (Anastase, p. 448, Palmes, p. 469), mentionnons une interprétation en partie nouvelle d'un passage de *l'Après-Midi d'un Faune* (p. 153 sqq.), où se mêlent curieusement un heureux rappel de la légende de la nymphe Syrinx, un sentiment faustien d'insuffisance, les idées esthétiques de Schiller, et une référence inavouée à la notion psychanalytique de sublimation (on chercherait d'ailleurs en vain dans l'Index le nom de Freud).

Moins ambitieuse, la thèse de Mlle Aish se borne à étudier, mais clairement et avec rigueur, les métaphores de Mallarmé, par quoi il faut entendre "toute expression figurée dès qu'il y a analogie entre des notions et des objets soit concrets soit abstraits" (p. 3). Après un début un peu trop rapide (l'auteur l'avoue p. 18), le ch. II montre par des détails bien choisis l'importance de l'analogie dans l'esprit de Mallarmé (qu'une analyse souvent faite, et toujours à faux, du célèbre poème en prose sur la mort de la Pénultième, ne confirme nullement), classe ensuite les métaphores suivant leur point d'origine sensoriel, ce qui amène des réflexions intéressantes sur la personnalité de Mallarmé, et montre les directions dans lesquelles les métaphores se développent. Les thèmes des métaphores sont classés de façon très complète dans le ch. III, qui montre que la réalité à laquelle s'intéressait Mallarmé (nature, intérieur, idées, etc.) est bien plus vaste qu'on ne croit généralement. Le ch. IV est la rhétorique du poète; il étudie minutieusement et avec beaucoup de finesse les nombreuses formes que prennent les métaphores (le plan en est moins net: ainsi la périphrase, traité p. 125 sqq., est reprise p. 151). Enfin les deux derniers ch. montrent avec d'excellents exemples comment Mallarmé perfectionnait ses métaphores et comment il les combinait en une technique musicale. La conclusion indique une influence qui, même limitée aux débuts de Ghil et de Valéry, ne semble pas convaincante. L'ouvrage se termine par une bibliographie un peu sommaire.

Certaines idées sont discutables. L'intellectualisme de Mallarmé (pp. 10, 11, 15) paraît surfait, peut-être sous l'influence de Valéry,

dont une idée (p. 186) est attribuée à Mallarmé, comme il est fréquent. Le problème de la sincérité (pp. 23, 51, 99) ne se pose guère. Il y a quelques erreurs : l'importance du théâtre est méconnue (p. 103) ; en particulier le lustre, loin d'être un "détail technique," est un symbole essentiel. Le mot "aucun" cité p. 120 n'a pas de sens négatif et signifie *un* comme le latin *aliquis*. Les mots (p. 121) ne sont pas extraordinaires en eux-mêmes. Le procédé de l'arrêt brusque par un monosyllabe, critiqué p. 176, est constant chez Mallarmé. Enfin on est surpris de trouver dans un travail en général bien et même agréablement écrit un assez grand nombre d'expressions incorrectes et d'anglicismes.

Ces réserves portent presque toutes, on le voit, sur ce qui n'est pas la métaphore. Mais quand Mlle Aish traite son sujet propre, elle le fait avec beaucoup de clarté, de force et d'habileté, et ses citations sont remarquablement choisies, présentées, commentées, et classées, ce qui, dans un sujet de ce genre, est l'essentiel.

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*The Imitations of "Don Quixote" in the Spanish Drama.* By GREGORY GOUGH LAGRONE. Philadelphia, U. of Pa., 1937. Publications in Romanic Languages and Literature, 27. Pp. VII, 145.

The influence of Cervantes has engaged the attention of various students of Spanish literature in recent years in England, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and the United States. Their studies include the borrowings in Spain and in foreign countries from *Don Quixote*, the *Novelas exemplares*, and the dramatic works of the famous Spaniard. Although great interest has been shown in the inspiration derived from *Don Quixote*, scant consideration has been taken of the influence of this masterpiece upon the Spanish theater. We are indebted to Dr. Lagrone for filling this gap. Extending his study of *Don Quixote* in the Spanish drama from the early part of the seventeenth century down through the centenary celebrations, he has dealt with more than one hundred Spanish dramatic works. This broad investigation has enabled him to make a careful analysis of the evolution in the interpretation of the book and its characters over three centuries. The material treated is broader than the title of the book would indicate because it includes a summary of the preceding works by other scholars on the influence of *Don Quixote* in foreign countries and a comparison of the attitude toward the work outside of Spain with the Spanish opinion of it.

The extensive bibliography indicates that L. has spared no pains in an effort to command all the available material that bears directly on the subject as well as that indirectly related to it but which affords a basis for comparison. Consequently, he is well equipped for his conclusions that the development in the interpretation of *Don Quixote* usually parallels the official criticism and that the interpretation varies from the early conception of the characters in their superficial aspects to the more accurate esteem accorded them from the last part of the nineteenth century to the present. With L's statement of the French opinion of *Don Quixote* in the seventeenth century (p. 2) I am not in complete agreement because, in addition to Saint-Evremond and La Fontaine, whom he mentions as two French writers of this period who correctly evaluated the Spanish knight, the mid-century dramatist Guyon Guérin de Bouscal should certainly be named as a Frenchman who appreciated the true significance of Cervantes' hero.

A valuable part of this book for students of Spanish literature are the summaries and criticisms of Spanish plays that are not well known and are not easily accessible. Other important features of the work are the Bibliographical List of Plays with their dates and principal references and the Selective Bibliography which enumerates the leading Cervantes bibliographies; the studies of Cervantine influence and interpretation in France, Germany, England, Italy, Portugal, and Spain; and essays and critical studies on the subject.

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### BRIEF MENTION

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*Pierre Jurieu und seine Auseinandersetzung mit Antoine Arnauld im Streit um die Rechtsfertigungs- und Gnadenlehre.* Von HILDE DAUM. Marburg: Bebel, 1937. Pp. 167. (Marburger Beiträge zur Rom. Philologie, Heft XXIII.) C'est une étude consciencieuse reflétant bien les subtilités de cette polémique où l'auteur du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle semble se perdre souvent aussi complètement que Jussieu et Arnauld eux-mêmes, le premier avec ses trois "fois" (foy opérante—de S. Paul; foy morte—de S. Jacques; foy assoupie et en défaillance—des fidèles dans leurs chutes mortelles), le second avec ses quatre "états" (*ante legem, sub lege, sub gratiâ, in pace*). Selon le premier l'homme est tout à fait mort par le péché; selon le second l'homme n'est que malade; selon le premier la grâce est "suffisante"; selon le second elle ne l'est pas—and voici son argument (excellent exemple du ton de ces querelles):

La foy est inséparable de toutes les vertus chrétiennes—assure Jurieu—et par conséquent de la chasteté. Or, il arrive souvent, par leur propre aveu, que les vrais fidèles commettent des adultères sans perdre la foy. Ils ne perdent donc point non plus, en commettant des adultères, la vertu de la chasteté, et ainsi par un privilège particulier ce sont des chastes adultères (cité p. 91).

Ailleurs les choses se présentent autrement et font voir que les causes du débat sont toutes pragmatiques, pourrait-on dire. Jurieu dit au fond : Vous, Jansénistes, êtes de vrais calvinistes avec votre doctrine du salut par la grâce—donc pourquoi ne vous séparez-vous pas de Rome ? Arnauld dit au fond : Vous, Jurieu, vous n'êtes pas calviniste puisque vous reconnaisssez l'autorité au moins partielle de la raison dans les questions de foi, comme l'Eglise qui reconnaît l'autorité de la Bible, de la Tradition et de la Raison—donc pourquoi ne rentrez-vous pas dans l'Eglise ?

Et si nous comprenons bien la conclusion de Dame Hilde Daum, Jurieu n'aurait pas le droit en effet de parler au nom du calvinisme, car il n'était déjà plus calviniste par son penchant pour les idées du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et philosophique (cf. p. 35). Opinons qu'il est plus sage de se renseigner sur ces querelles dans le lumineux ouvrage de P. Hazard, *La Crise de la Conscience européenne, 1680-1815* (1935).

Ce qu'on trouvera de spécialement frappant dans le livre de H. Daum, c'est le spectacle de deux grands chrétiens s'abreuvant d'injures abondamment, continuant la bonne tradition du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et d'ailleurs celle de la *rabies theologica* de tous les temps.

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*Joseph de Maistre et l'Angleterre.* Par F. HOLDSWORTH. Paris : Champion, 1935. Pp. x + 323. Un des nombreux ouvrages entrepris à la suggestion de M. Baldensperger pour la "Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature comparée." Il était en effet fort intéressant d'attirer l'attention sur cette appréciation des idées anglaises du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle par un Français—un Français qui, cette fois, cependant, apprécie en réactionnaire. Dans les fameux parallèles Français-Anglais de Béat de Muralt, Voltaire et Rousseau (sans compter Prévost et Diderot) ceux-ci avaient invariablement appuyé sur le côté admiration pour les idées d'Outre-Manche. Mais le siècle philosophique tire à sa fin et voici Joseph de Maistre qui avait été élevé dans un milieu très traditionaliste, avait commencé (comme Chateaubriand) par s'enthousiasmer pour les Anglais, mais qui avait fini par aboutir en fin de compte à une repudiation à peu près complète du déisme philosophique et retomber dans une orthodoxie philosophique et chrétienne qui défie celle de Pascal même : ce sont

les doctrines les plus difficiles à accepter pour la raison—celle de l'expiation, celle de la "présence réelle du corps et du sang de Christ sous les espèces du pain et du vin," la fonction divine du bourreau . . . et toutes les autres—qui sont défendues non pas au nom du "cœur qui a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît pas," mais au nom de la raison raisonnante des "philosophes" eux-mêmes. M. Holdsworth a sans doute raison en affirmant qu'on n'avait pas accordé assez d'attention à cette défense si originale des idées chrétiennes (il n'y a guère aujourd'hui que Maurras qui rappelle parfois l'intérêt de la dialectique de de Maistre); mais on aura peut-être le désir d'en relire l'exposé dans l'original; le livre de notre auteur paraît un peu surchargé de discussions prolixes; il rappelle lui-même que le travail de Joseph de Maistre supplantant les idées anglaises avait été déjà "un travail de mise au point"; il se trouve ainsi que nombre de pages ici sont encore une mise au point de mise au point; un aperçu plus exclusivement objectif n'aurait-il pas suffi? La bibliographie à la fin du volume paraît en vérité surabondante.

ALBERT SCHINZ

*The University of Pennsylvania*

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*Anecdotes of painting in England, 1760-1795, with some account of the principal artists; and incidental notes on other arts; collected by HORACE WALPOLE; and now digested and published from his original MSS.* By FREDERICK W. HILLES and PHILIP B. DAGHLIAN. Vol. 5. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 262. \$3.00. The well-known volumes called Walpole's *Anecdotes* should rather have been known as George Vertue's, as Walpole was the first to own. Nothing, however, can dim his credit and devotion in publishing Vertue's notes. The very name chosen by the Walpole Society, which now is publishing Vertue in full, handsomely recognizes this. The publication of what Walpole himself collected for future research—his *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1760-95)—helps us to measure the difference between an artist with a passion for retrieving the past and a dilettante benevolently interested. Vertue's main source of material was original research: Walpole's news-sheets clippings. Vertue's judgments were based on his standard of professional knowledge and often confirmed or amended by observation. Walpole judged from his smarter level and his often arbitrary theory and seems hardly ever to have observed the essence of a picture for himself. From his material on Reynolds, Gainsborough, Cotes and Romney he seems not to have noticed that there was anything phenomenal about them. It is not unfair to quote his sole comment on Richard Wilson. "Imitated Rembrandt. There is an account and head of Richard Wilson the landscape painter who died in 1782 in the *European*

*Magazine* for June 1790. He was born in 1714." His apparent confusion of Richard with Benjamin Wilson is a detail in this aridity. None the less Walpole's indolent industry in preserving so many bits of biography and gossip deserves our thanks and this especially applies to his material on architecture and architects and on amateurs. His editor's work seems exemplary.

Huntington Library,  
San Marino, California

C. H. COLLINS BAKER

*Drury Lane Calendar, 1747-1776.* Compiled from the playbills and edited with an introduction by DOUGALD MACMILLAN. Published in co-operation with the Huntington Library. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938. Pp. xxxiv + 364. \$7.00. Professor MacMillan has earned the gratitude of his fellow workers by providing this compilation, drawn principally from the Kemble-Devonshire playbills in the Huntington Library. These are annotated in J. P. Kemble's hand, chiefly in the form of transcriptions from the diaries of the prompters Cross and Hopkins. Where the collection is imperfect the editor has gone to other sources, and he has checked the whole calendar with newspaper notices and with Genest. The calendar gives the performances throughout Garrick's reign. It is followed by an alphabetical list of the plays, with dates and casts. The book is well indexed, and I can already testify from use unconnected with this review that it is a very helpful instrument. The introduction is a concise but interesting sketch of Drury Lane under Garrick.

H. S.

*The Seafarer, An Interpretation.* By O. S. ANDERSON. Lund: Gleerup, 1937. Pp. 50. This little monograph grew out of an attempt to find an interpretation of the poem which would not require the interpreter to reject substantial parts of it as additions, interpolations or separate poems. Mr. Anderson defends the unity of the poem as it stands, on the theory that it is an autobiographical allegory. The seafaring so vividly pictured in lines 1 to 33a signifies the poet's actual life in this vale of tears. The seafaring anticipated so eagerly in lines 33b to 64a signifies the poet's death: he puts to sea this time on a voyage which will take him to the other side, that is, heaven. This section therefore signifies the poet's anticipated release from the worldly cares set forth in the first section of the poem. Lines 64b to 124 consist of general reflections on life, the poet's philosophy of life, if you will, an outgrowth of the personal experiences and emotions presented in allegorical form in the preceding sections of the poem. This philosophy is, in fact, merely another statement of familiar

Christian views about this world and the world to come. It gains a personal and lyric quality, however, in virtue of its connexion with the poet's autobiographical allegory. The primitivistic passage (lines 80b to 89) is of special interest here; Mr. Anderson might have added to the value of his essay by discussing it in terms of its historical background. In the note on *hwilpan* 21 (p. 40), I miss a reference to Lehmann's note, Herrig's *Archiv* CXIX 435. On lines 111-116, see my note in *Medium Ævum* vi 214. The essay as a whole gives us a plausible interpretation of this beautiful but obscure poem.

KEMP MALONE

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*Shakespeare Studies. Hamlet.* By BLANCHE COLES. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1938. Pp. xiv + 298. \$2.50. This commentary on *Hamlet*, paraphrasing practically every line in the play, will be of service both to students beginning to study *Hamlet* and to scholars who may feel that they have completed its study. It is decidedly useful particularly in connection with matters difficult to understand because of changes during the last three hundred years in language, customs, and ethics. Naturally scholars will not agree with all the interpretations favored by Miss Coles, a fact which renders the work no less valuable.

There is perhaps too frequent a tendency on the part of the writer to accept some entirely new and fanciful interpretations of Dover Wilson (pp. 44, 50, 89, 90, 121, 158). When, however, the commentary reaches problems of profound importance, Miss Coles is very fair in citing quotations from eminent authorities on both sides of a question (pp. 134-145). Often she suggests that the reader must make up his own mind on all matters. Miss Coles will find it difficult to secure converts to "sullied" rather than "solid" flesh, despite Dover Wilson (p. 20), easier perhaps to convince us in favor of the contention of Joseph Quincy Adams against Miss Lily B. Campbell that revenge was ethically right as *Hamlet* emphasizes it, but entirely impossible to convince us at the very end (p. 297) of the generally accepted idea that the reference in *Hamlet* to a future life is "against Shakespeare's custom." All of Shakespeare's supposedly greatest tragedies emphasize the future life at some point in their development. Even in the pagan play, *Lear*, Kent is going to meet the dead Lear, and Antony, the pagan, is to gather flowers with the Bohemian Cleopatra in the life to come. It is interesting to read this bold innovation in commentary along with that of Joseph Quincy Adams, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1935.

GEORGE COFFIN TAYLOR

*The University of North Carolina*

*Goethe-Kalender auf das Jahr 1938.* 31ster Jahrgang. Herausgegeben vom Frankfurter Goethe-Museum. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 261 Ss. Mit gewohnter Anmut und in tieferem Sinne mischt dies Jahr der Goethe-Kalender Forschung und Dichtung, denn die ersten Beiträge sind von deutschen Dichtern geschrieben: Ernst Wiechert bekennen sich zu Goethe in *Vom Trost der Welt*; Rudolf G. Binding sucht Mephistopheles' Einwirkung bei der Herstellung des Homunkulus auszuscheiden, ohne sich indessen mit dem Vers "Ich bin der Mann, das Glück ihm zu beschleunen" (*Faust* 6684) überzeugend auseinanderzusetzen; Rudolf Alexander Schröder wirbt für eine höhere Wertung der *Natürlichen Tochter*; Karl Heinrich Waggerl führt uns in Großvater Textors Blumengarten.

"Dass ich auf den folgenden Blättern mein Wissen über Goethe und Mörike bekennen soll, erscheint mir [i. e. Ludwig Friedrich Barthel] wie eine heimliche Strafe, doch nicht einfältig, nicht verloren und wunschlos genug in ihren Gedichten gelesen zu haben." Uns erscheint es auch so, wie diese Stilprobe vielleicht schon ahnen lässt.

George Madison Priest berichtet sachgemäß und mit interessanten Streiflichtern auf Princeton zur Zeit Goethes über "Das Goethebild von Sebbers in Amerika, seinen Wert und seine Schicksale, während Ernst Beutler, der Herausgeber des Büchleins und Direktor des Frankfurter Goethemuseums, mit reizendem Humor und fast biedermeierischer Sammlerfreude *Das Hausbuch des Großvaters Textor* charakterisiert und eine versunkene Bürgerwelt erstehen lässt. Der Aufsatz von Franz Götting über *Dorothea Stock* gibt nicht nur einen Einblick in *Leben und Werk einer deutschen Malerin von 1800*, sondern zeigt, wie stark die Kreise der Großen jener Zeit, der Goethe, Schiller, Schlegel, Mozart sich mit dem der Körners überschneiden. Ein Katalog der von Dora Stock gemalten Bilder nebst Ortsangaben schließt sich an.

ERNST FEISE

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*Das Schemenlaufen in Tirol und verwandte alpenländische Masken- und Fasnachtsbräuche.* Von ANTON DÖRRER. 2. Auflage. Innsbruck/Leipzig: Felizian Rauch, 1938. 44 pages, 8 plates. RM .90. The noisy parades of masked men in Tyrolean villages at Shrove-tide are traced through the centuries, from their supposed symbolic cult-forms of the old Germans to the impressive barock masquerades of today. The most important open-air festival of this kind takes place in the village of Imst every three or four years, and the author brings proof of its relation to other masquerades in Alpine districts. An exact description of the masks is supplemented

by detailed information on church interference, law-suits, and official efforts to suppress these customary parades.

WERNER NEUSE

*Middlebury College*

*What Happens in Hamlet.* By J. DOVER WILSON. Cambridge (England) : at the University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937. Pp. xx + 344. \$3.50. The second edition of this much-discussed book (reviewed by Professor Parrott, *MLN.*, LII, 382-6) adds a pleasant and very sporting preface on its reception, a five-page endorsement by Mr. Harold Child of some recent productions which carried out Professor Wilson's ideas, and seven pages of new notes.

H. S.

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## CORRESPONDENCE

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SCOTT'S BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE. The title of Mr. Strout's communication 'An unpublished ballad-translation by Scott' in the January issue of *MLN.* is scarcely accurate. His proviso that "it may have appeared in some contemporary collection" is justified; for Scott's translation was printed in *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, I, 380-1, Dec. 29, 1832. It was printed from Hunter's copy, which must be the one now in the Morgan Library and from which Mr. Strout transcribes his text, for the editors introduced the ballad by quoting Hunter's MS. note.

The text of the ballad has a few misreadings and different spellings (apart from the editors' punctuation). In the following list I give the stanza and line and the *Chambers's* reading. I, 1. Graham; 3. Southron (cf. 'Southron' in Mr. Strout's version v, 7.), rout, chase; II, 1. Graham; 2. faith sustained (the Latin version 'intemerata' should have prevented this reading which makes nonsense); III, 3. sae . . . Dunfermline; 5. Scotland's Nestor (which again does not make sense); VI, 3. 'fenced' for 'knew'; 7. Cannon; VIII, 1. Glenmorriston; IX, 1. Tummel's; 5. 'who' for 'that.' The last two lines of stanza 1, deleted in the MS., are represented by stars in the *Chambers's* version.

Although, therefore, the ballad has been printed before, it would seem that Mr. Strout gives for the first time the correct readings.

JAMES C. COBSON

*The library,  
The University of Edinburgh*

NOCHMALS "DIE SONNE GEHT ZU GNADEN." Prof. John A. Walz (*MLN.*, LIV, 8 ff.), beweist mit einer erdrückenden Fülle von Belegen dass in den verschiedensten germanischen Sprachen *die Sonne geht zu Gnade(n)* (von der untergehenden Sonne gesagt) bedeutet "... geht zur Ruhe", besonders einige seiner frühneuhochdeutschen Beispiele zeigen diese Auffassung als die im 15./16. Jh. herrschende. Er muss aber selbst gestehen dass mhd. *ze genäden ist sin sèle* ebenso gut die Bedeutung 'rest' als 'divine grace' enthalten kann (die letztere ist ahd. allein belegt). Ich verstehe nicht wie Walz eine solche lexikographische Frage von der etymologischen trennen kann, da doch von ihr die Auffassung des Stimmungsgehalts des Wortes beeinflusst werden muss. Walz setzt sich mit H. Paul's Bemerkung, die Bedeutung 'Gemächlichkeit, Ruhe' sei "abgeleitet," nicht auseinander: ich handle von Etymologie und Ursprung, Waltz vom Wortgebrauch in bestimmten Perioden (übrigens habe ich selbst gesagt dass der Zusammenhang von *Gnade* mit *nied(er)* "dem Sprachgefühls Roths nahezu liegen scheint"). Selbst wenn *Gnade* in *die Sonne geht zu Gnaden* in einer bestimmten Sprachperiode 'Ruhe' bedeutet, sollten die Obertöne von *Gnade* 'divine grace' nicht hereinschwingen? Wenn im Mhd. Sätze wie *diu sèle fuor zen gnäden* ('zu ihrer ewigen Ruh' nach Zarncke's Übersetzung), *ē die sonne zu gnäden gêt und so muoz ich gnâde und ruowe lân* ('Ruhe') nebeneinander stehen, ist es wahrscheinlich dass bei dem theozentrischen Weltbild des Mittelalters der Gnadebegriff nicht alle diese Wendungen färbt? Besonders da wir doch die romanischen Parallelen haben: ich führe noch an span. *estar en la gloria* 'ruhig, zufrieden leben,' *dar la gloria* 'die ewige Seligkeit verschaffen,' *Dios le tenga en su gloria* 'Gott habe ihn selig' (von Verstorbenen), wo die Himmelsglorie (der Glanz) mit Wonne und Ruhe zusammenschmilzt.<sup>1</sup> Ich halte es nicht für realistischer, wenn der Philologe die Realität der mitschwingenden Obertöne eines Wortes ausschaltet.

LEO SPITZER

G. ROHLFS (*ANS.*, CLXXIII, 133). On connaît M. G. Rohlfs, professor de langues romanes à Tübingue, comme excellent explorateur de parlers ruraux; on a noté ensuite certaine rusticité dans d'après polémiques contre des écoles s'inspirant d'attitudes moins naturalistes; le voilà qui s'embarque dans la *rustrerie* du racisme: au lieu cité on trouve les idées suivantes (dans un c.-r. d'un travail sur la France et le racisme): il faudrait distinguer les Français authentiques et les écrivains juifs; il est singulier de voir le Juif André Suarès énuméré entre Paul Claudel et Charles Péguy; "Si l'on insiste sur le fait que c'était Montaigne qui s'érigea en défenseur des esclaves nègres, il ne fallait pas taire que M. était demi-juif." A part

<sup>1</sup> Ich gebe noch ein romanisches Beispiel aus anderer Sphäre: Restaurants heißen gern auf Frz. *Chez Michaud*: warum *chez* 'bei,' wenn nicht die Gemütlichkeitsnuance von *casa* 'Haus' gewünscht würde?

la gracieuse supposition d'une collusion entre le nègre et le juif, qui pourrait faire plaisir à M. Céline, il est intéressant pour un public américain de voir que le fait d'épouser une cause humanitaire trouve chez le chevalier prussien de la civilisation son 'excuse' dans une particularité du sang! Lincoln avait probablement une mère juive!

LEO SPITZER

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ROBERT A. HALL, JR. (*Language*, 14, 154) writes a review of von Wartburg's book, *La posizione della lingua italiana nel mondo neolatino*. I state briefly the reasons for my fundamental disagreement with Mr. Hall.

(1) Mr. H. looks to such unphilosophical minds as Nyrop and Goidanich and to so flexible an intelligence as Sapir for backing in his attack on Humboldt's and Croce's philosophical conceptions of "Spracheist und Volksseele": but when Sapir says, "such correlations are rubbish," he means the correlation of particular types of linguistic morphology and certain stages of cultural development (that is why he says, "Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd"—both of them speak Greek!). This is not v. Wartburg's procedure: he compares—and Mr. H. criticizes him for it, unjustifiably, I think—two literary languages, Italian and French, both originating from Latin. Sapir himself, generally so skeptical of any correlating of language and culture, must admit (p. 227 of his book *Language*): "In an area dominated by the national sentiment there is a tendency of language and culture to become uniform and specific, so that linguistic and cultural boundaries at least tend to coincide." This is precisely what happened in France and Italy at the time of the nationalism of the Renaissance. One cannot deny that French and Italian society (grammarians etc.) worked out a national set of thoughts, different in the two countries, directing French toward logical rigidity,<sup>1</sup> Italian toward flexibility—characteristic features, I suppose, of the two nations in modern times.

(2) Mr. H. argues from an example supposed to show the nonsense of correlating "Spracheist" and "Volksseele": the Hungarians resemble the Italians more than the French (a highly doubtful observation, incidentally!), although their languages do not show the same proportion of resemblances—but the example does not apply to Mr. v. Wartburg's procedure because he does not compare remote languages and civilizations, but the offsprings of the common Latin language with a common linguistic patrimonium and closely related to Neo-latin civilizations.

(3) Everyone knows that the French and Italians differ in their national character, that their languages differ, and that these differences must be correlated—the scholar may be "cool" (Sapir) but not frigid; he must re-examine the commonplace with his refined categories and

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<sup>1</sup> Likewise, the "règle des 24 heures" the French grammarians of the XVIIth century elaborated for the *passé composé* corresponds exactly to the famous unity of time on the French stage.

methods. A historian of French literature as positivistic as Lanson begins his standard book with a chapter on the "caractères de la race"—why should the historian of language operate in a vacuum? It is significant indeed that Meillet, the outspoken representative of the Saussurean linguistics of "lois générales," became in his last days an adherent of Croceanism and Vosslerism (G. Ivănescu pointed this out in "Buletinul Philippide," 1937, p. 228): I myself heard him at the Linguistic Congress at the Hague in 1928 oppose the rigid mind of the Turks, as expressed in their thinking and language, to the flexibility of Indo-European thought and language.

(4) Mr. H. qualifies the aesthetic approach to language as subjective. The charge of subjectivity by scholars very often is no more than an assumption that their own procedure is objective and that that of their opponents is subjective (are not some of Mr. H.'s etymologies very "subjective," indeed "impressionistic"?). I do not understand how an un-aesthetic or "anaesthetized" approach to language, which is *also* an aesthetic phenomenon, can ever reach an approximate understanding of its nature. The means of investigation must somehow be congruent with the subject matter under investigation: can a nothing-but-philologian deal with mathematics?

(5) As for the "standstill in Italian linguistics" which seems to Mr. H. the result of Crocean influence, I, who leveled the same criticism some years ago (*Indogerm. Forsch.* L [1932], 148 seq.), would hesitate today to endorse my former statement: since that time such men as Migliorini, Schiaffini, Bertoni, Tagliajini, Prati, Maccarrone, Bottiglioni have done excellent work in the field of the history of Italian, especially Schiaffini's history of Old Florentine prose which combines aesthetic judgment with linguistic craftsmanship, and Migliorini's studies of modern Italian word-formation as an expression of modern civilization are unequalled in Romance philology. The relative standstill was due not to Croceanism but precisely to the traditionalism of the Goidanich-Merlo school which knew how to curry favor with the government by shouting the slogan "Ascoli."

(6) I do not see what contradiction in terms may lie in the expression "le diverse scienze dello spirito": there is one human mind with several manifestations, in different peoples and in different subject matters; the various fields of philology and of history, history of art, music, literature, law, economics, all contribute to the *scienza nuova* or *Geistesgeschichte* drafted by Vico, Herder, Humboldt. The self-sufficiency of linguistics advocated by Mr. Hall is the surest way of destroying its scientific character.

LEO SPITZER





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